Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-95-158
Wednesday
16 August 1995

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Daily Report
East Europe

FBIS-EEU-95-158 *16 August 1995*

CONTENTS

NOTICE: This volume contains a representative selection of material previously disseminated in softcopy format.

ALBANIA

Minister: Ethnic Cleansing Must Be Prevented *[KOSOVA DAILY REPORT]* 1
Neritan Ceka Urges Help for Serb Refugees *[GAZETA SHQIPTARE 15 Aug]* 1
Serreqi Warns of Involvement in Kosovo Conflict *[AFP]* 1
Minister on Trade, Transport, Communications *[KOHA JONE 13 Aug]* 2
Agriculture Minister Defends Government's Record *[KOHA JONE 15 Aug]* 2

CZECH REPUBLIC

Klaus on Government Coalition, Privatization *[DENNI TELEGRAF 11 Aug]* 5
Social Democrats' Election Prospects Improving *[LIDOVE NOVINY 17 Jun]* 5

SLOVAKIA

Meciar on Kovac Comments During U.S. Visit *[NARODNA OBRODA 11 Aug]* 7
SKOI Supports President's U.S. Comments *[SME 11 Aug]* 8

HUNGARY

Parties Unite Against Yugoslav Settlement Policy *[Budapest Radio]* 9
New Shelter Opens for Former Yugoslav Refugees *[Budapest TV]* 9
MSZP Leader on Horn Government Survival *[MAGYAR HIRLAP 22 Jul]* 9
Snapshot of Horn Government Group Described *[TALLOZO 20 Jul]* 13

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

Minister: U.S. Plan Supports Contact Group Idea *[Zagreb Radio]* 14
Envoy Condemns Plan *[AFP]* 14
TELEGRAF Details Plan *[SRNA]* 14
Sacirbegovic Views Foreign, Domestic Politics *[LJILJAN 9 Aug]* 15
Izetbegovic Writes to UN About Sandzak Issue *[Sarajevo Radio]* 18
Extraordinary Session Views Refugees From Tuzla *[Sarajevo Radio]* 18
Silajdzic Fears 'Mass Killings' in Banja Luka *[AFP]* 19
Official Views Work of War Crimes Tribunal *[OSLOBODJENJE 2 Aug]* 19
Police Arrest 4 Zepa Refugees in Novi Pazar *[Sarajevo Radio]* 22
Mostar Serbs Complain to EU Administrator *[SRNA]* 22
'Massive Ethnic Cleansing' of Banja Luka Stepped Up *[AFP]* 22
Deployment of RRF Heavy Artillery Delayed *[AFP]* 23
Sarajevo Radio Carries Fighting Roundup *[Sarajevo Radio]* 24
Karadzic Stresses Need To Obtain Serb State *[SRNA]* 24
Comment on Karadzic's Motives To Replace Mladic *[POLITIKA 14 Aug]* 25
Bosnian, Krajina Serb Soldiers Support Mladic *[VECERNJE NOVOSTI 14 Aug]* 26

CROATIA

UN: Army Massing Troops in Dubrovnik Area *[AFP]* 27
Army Chief on Defense, Offensive Operations *[Zagreb Radio]* 27
Diplomat Hints at War With Serbs Over Slavonia *[Madrid ABC 12 Aug]* 28
Granic: Plan Must Account for 'Changed' Situation *[Munich FOCUS 14 Aug]* 29
Canadian Peacekeepers Prepare To Return Home *[Montreal Radio]* 30
Serb Negotiator Sought for East Slavonia Talks *[VECERNJI LIST 16 Aug]* 30
Abdic Supporters Said in 'Miserable' Conditions *[AFP]* 31
TANJUG Commentary Criticizes Krajina Leaders 31
DA Leader Criticizes Tudjman, HDZ *[FERAL TRIBUNE 10 Jul]* 32

THE FORMER YUGOSLAV REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA

Defense Minister Comments on Regional Crisis *[NOVA MAKEDONIJA 12 Aug]* 36
Gligorov Urges 'Preventive' UN Presence *[Vienna KURIER 16 Aug]* 38
Spokesman To Request UN Force Move Hqs to Skopje *[Belgrade Radio]* 38
Supreme Court Chairman Dimiskovski Interviewed *[NOVA MAKEDONIJA 27 May]* 39

POLAND

Daewoo, GM Rivals for Automobile Plant *[ZYCIE WARSZAWY 14-15 Aug]* 43

ROMANIA

Court Considers UDMR Initiative Legal *[Bucharest Radio]* 44
Commission Views 'Convulsions' in Army *[AZI 8 Aug]* 44

YUGOSLAVIA

Federal

New Foreign Minister Named; Jovanovic to UN *[Belgrade Radio]* 45
Border on Croatia in Herzeg-Novi Area 'Secure' *[Belgrade Radio]* 45
Envoy Asks UN To Inquire About Missing Serbs *[Belgrade Radio]* 45
Krajina Refugees Wait at FRY Border *[Belgrade Radio]* 45
International Aid Inadequate *[TANJUG]* 46
Belgrade's Relations With Ankara Called Cold *[TANJUG]* 46
Background on Podgorica-Belgrade Police Transfers *[MONITOR 28 Jul]* 46
Jul Poll Shows Support for Milosevic *[VJESNIK 20 Jul]* 49

Serbia

Draskovic, Milosevic Discuss Krajina Refugees *[Belgrade Radio]* 49
SRS Asks Army To Help Evacuate Serbs *[BETA]* 49
SPS Official on Failure To Help Krajina Serbs *[NASA BORBA 14 Aug]* 50
Police Ban Entry of Krajina Vehicles *[NASA BORBA 12-13 Aug]* 50
Krajina Serbs Reportedly Housed in Sandzak *[Sarajevo Radio]* 50
Nis Official: 840 Conscripts Return to Krajina *[SRNA]* 51
Krajina Refugees Decry Leaders' 'Betrayal' *[NASA BORBA 10 Aug]* 51
Commentary Attacks Church's Call for Revolt *[VECERNJE NOVOSTI 10 Aug]* 53

Montenegro

Opposition Demand for Parliament Session Rejected *[FONET]* 54
Venice-Bar Maritime Line Proposed *[EKONOMSKA POLITIKA 24 Jul]* 55

Kosovo

Krajina Refugees Refuse To Go to Kosovo *[BETA]* 55
Settlement in Majority-Albanian Areas Suspected *[KOSOVA DAILY REPORT]* 56
Court Proceedings Against Ethnic Albanians 56
Trial of Paramilitary Formation *[Belgrade Radio]* 56
'Staged Trial' in Prizren *[KOSOVA DAILY REPORT]* 56
Trial in Prishtina Scheduled *[KOSOVA DAILY REPORT]* 57

Vojvodina

Red Cross on Settlement of 64,000 Refugees *[Budapest Radio]* 57
Hungarians Fear Refugees Changing Ethnic Balance *[Budapest Radio]* 57
Populated Towns Unwilling To Take Serb Refugees *[SRNA]* 57
Slovaks 'Victims of Ethnic Cleansing' *[Bratislava Radio]* 57

Minister: Ethnic Cleansing Must Be Prevented

AU1608070295 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT in English 15 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Defence Minister of the Republic of Albania, Safet Zhulali, in an interview given today to RILINDJA newspaper which is published in Tirana, said that "the conflicts which have stormed the regions of former-Yugoslavia, and the threat that it may expand to Kosova and Macedonia, where some 3 million Albanians live, pose a serious and direct threat of military nature in the region." "The shifting ethnic conflicts in the Balkans, chiefly in the center of it in Kosova, the threat coming from the demographic and political, economic and military games, may deepen by the escalation of the use of military force. Tendencies that the war may expand from Bosnia to other regions, especially to the south, in order to create new volatile zones, could meddle the interests of other countries in the Balkans, primarily Albania." Mr. Zhulali said that if these facts are perceived appropriately, not only by us and the Albanian Army, it results that taking preventive steps in order to stop the development of critical situations, are indispensable. Commenting on the latest developments in former-Yugoslavia, Bosnia and Croatia, Zhulali said that "Serbia is using the situation in order to revive its old tendencies of colonizing Kosova," he emphasized that the settlement of Serbian refugees to Kosova will result in grave effects and reiterated that Albania will do its utmost to prevent the ethnic cleansing and bloodshed in Kosova. He apprised that "any settlement of the former-Yugoslav crisis without a just settlement of the Kosova issue will not be unaffected."

Neritan Ceka Urges Help for Serb Refugees

AU1508190295 Tirana GAZETA SHQIPTARE in Albanian 15 Aug 95 p 3

[Aarticle by Arian Cani: "Ceka: 'Let Us Also Help Serbian Refugees'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Tirana—"The war in Bosnia is an absurdity. We must also offer the Serbs our help, just as we have offered it to the Bosnians." Only a few days after the upheavals in Croatia, Democratic Alliance leader Neritan Ceka has called on the Albanian Government to shelter Serb refugees, too. This is a call that has so far not been heard in the world of Albanian politics and will inevitably cause controversy.

"Let us also offer Albanian hospitality to Serb refugees," Ceka said. His statement comes immediately after the settlement in Kosova of 700 Serb residents of Zepa and Krajina. The Democratic Alliance leaders denied the danger of a conflict in the southern Balkans, commenting that "these refugees bear a message of peace and not of war." Ceka responded harshly to the politicization of this issue and attacked Milosevic, who, according to him, is trying to use the Serb refugees as cannon fodder.

"I would keep a Serb refugee in my house in place of my son, because he too is a refugee," the Democratic Aliance leader told GAZETA SHQIPTARE. According to Ceka, "The state has the possibility of offering subsistence to several thousand Serb refugees. The Bosnians leaving their homes, whether Serbs or Muslims, are all victims of an absurd war. They must, therefore, find a spirit of solidarity among the Balkan countries that are against this war. I call on the Albanian Government," the Democratic Alliance leader continued, "just as it generously gave shelter to thousands of Bosnian Muslims, to offer the same Albanian hospitality to Serb refugees."

In a brief historical resume, Neritan Ceka recalled the years 1940 and 1949. "Let us not forget," Ceka said, "the time when the Albanians welcomed tens of thousands of Greeks, who later returned to their own homes, and the time when the Italians in 1991 took in tens of thousands of Albanians fleeing insecurity and hunger."

Serreqi Warns of Involvement in Kosovo Conflict

AU1508154995 Paris AFP in English 1443 GMT 15 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tirana, Aug 15 (AFP)—Albania warned Tuesday [15 August] it would not remain "indifferent" to the needs of ethnic Albanians in Kosovo if the Balkans conflict extended south.

In a letter sent to the UN Security Council and the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), Foreign Minister Alfred Serreqi called on the international community to take measures to prevent the extension of the war into the south of the Balkans.

The letter was also sent to the "contact group" on the former Yugoslavia comprising Britain, France, Germany, Russia and the United States.

Serreqi accused Belgrade of wanting to colonise the southern province of Kosovo with Croatian Serb refugees and to indulge in more "ethnic cleansing."

The prospect of settling Serb refugees in the volatile region of Kosovo could prolong the Balkans conflict, Greek Defence Minister Nikos Kouris warned Monday [14 August].

Following Croatia's lightning offensive to recapture the secessionist Krajina region last week, some 670 Serb refugees had arrived in Kosovo by late Sunday [13 August], Red Cross officials said.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Federal Republic of Yugoslavia authorities said Thursday they intended to settle 16,000 Serb refugees in Kosovo.

Many Croatian Serbs have refused to be re-settled in Kosovo which they fear could be the scene of a new conflict.

The United States and Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] have also expressed concern over a rise in tension in the province where the population is more than 90 percent ethnic Albanian.

Minister on Trade, Transport, Communications

AU1508153695 Tirana KOHA JONE in Albanian 13 Aug 95 p 11

[Interview with Albert Brojka, minister of industry, trade, and transportation, by Milto Baka; place and date not given: "Rail Transportation Has No Future"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Baka] Industrial sector exports rose by $2.3 million in the first quarter of 1995. But imports still outweigh them. How do you predict the future?

[Brojka] I think that both imports and exports will rise. Exports rose by 48 percent in the first half of this year, while imports rose by 52 percent. In comparing the rates of increase of exports and imports, I would like to stress that exports have risen fivefold, while imports have risen by a factor of 3.85. Exports are therefore rising faster, which is the most important thing, and I think that this rate will be sustained. At present, 90 percent of exports are from the private sector and the proportion is rising. Meanwhile, the private sector accounts for 56 percent of imports. In the first five months of 1995, trade turnover rose by 22 percent for exports and 25 percent for imports.

[Baka] The textile industry is inefficient at the moment. How do you see the future, and will it involve privatization?

[Brojka] The textile industry has now been working for some time with raw materials provided by firms in Italy and Greece and the entire production goes for export. My opinion is that we should continue in this way, but the enterprises should not be state-owned. When they are privatized, they will be much more efficient, because foreigners will participate in these firms in the form of joint ventures and this cooperation will serve the future.

[Baka] The merchant fleet is a sector that produces significant earnings, but what do you think about other forms of transportation, especially the railroads?

[Brojka] Rail transportation has ao future (let us say, as part of transportation as a whole). In recent years, the volume of traffic has fallen to a 25th and is still falling because of competition from road transportation, which is many times more efficient. Nevertheless, we have a strategy for the railroads devised by the World Bank with four possible variants. The reform of the railroads will involve a reduction in the railroads' work.

Work is to be done on the Tirana-Durres line, which is being reconstructed and will be served by high-speed trains every 30-60 minutes, while other lines will be carrying freight but few passengers.

[Baka] Why are there delays in renovating Rinas Airport, which is planned to be international?

[Brojka] Work has not begun at Rinas Airport because the financial contract has not been signed. This is because the Berliner Bank is to provide German credit. As we speak, Albtransport, which is to receive the credit, and Siemens, which is to use it, are ready to sign the agreement, with some small objections. I think that this situation will soon be overcome and work will start, because everything is ready. Nevertheless, I wish to stress that air transportation rose 96 percent in the first six months of 1995 compared with the same period in 1994. In terms of takeoffs and landings, there was a 50 percent increase, and overflights rose by 130 percent. Thus, there has been a significant growth in air passenger traffic. We have also planned for Rinas Airport to have a transit function as a European hub for long-distance flights.

[Baka] Mr. Brojka, at the most recent international conference on investment in Albania held in Tirana, there was talk of Telekom being privatized with the help of a powerful investor or a strategic partner. What has been achieved and what is the aim?

[Brojka] In my opinion, this sector has a brilliant future and we must insist on privatization and on carrying out this strategy and the master plan that has been devised for Telekom. The telecommunications bill and the bill on privatization strategy must now pass to the Council of Ministers and the parliament. Privatization cannot begin without this.

I wish to stress that about 33,000 additional telephone numbers are planned for Tirana alone in 1997 and about 55,000 numbers for Albania as a whole.

Agriculture Minister Defends Government's Record

AU1508184495 Tirana KOHA JONE in Albanian 15 Aug 95 p 11

[Report by Milto Baka on a news conference given by Agriculture Minister Hasan Halili in Tirana on 14

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

August: "In 1997, Agriculture Will Catch Up With the 1989 Figures"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Hasan Halili, minister for agriculture and food, gave a news conference for Albanian and foreign journalists at the ministry yesterday, describing his department's work in implementing the government's program as approved by the parliament. This has included restoring the land to private ownership, continuing privatization in the food industry, and the privatization of pastureland and future forests. Minister Halili said that following the administrative reform, the ministry's staff has been reduced from 208 in 1990 to 93 specialists, not counting civil servants. This reform has also extended to the reorganization of the agricultural directorates in the districts, which include the necessary production specialists. With the help of USAID, a study is being carried out to reorganize agricultural institutes according to Western concepts of the market economy. Albania, for reasons that we know, did not take part in many international organizations, despite her geographical position in Europe. Under the new conditions, it has become necessary for us to participate and to establish bilateral and multilateral ties.

We were already members of the FAO and now participate directly on its committees. We have also joined important international organizations relating to veterinary services (OIE), stockbreeding (PEZ), plant protection (EPPO), the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD), and the International Center for Advanced Mediterranean Agricultural Studies (CIHEAM). We are also making efforts to join European and international organizations that treat aspects of agriculture and food.

Mr. Halili dwelt especially on the preparation of projects to assist private agriculture as one of the ministry's priority commitments. The emergency measures of 1992, the customs concessions for 1992-95, and the arrival of 2,500 tractors with the help of credit from the state and from other schemes has eased the difficult situation regarding agricultural machinery in Albania. The FAO project for training and institutional reform, begun in 1992, is continuing. The PHARE [Economic Reconstruction Aid for Poland and Hungary] program, begun as an emergency aid program for vital foodstuffs, is continuing with its contribution toward a real estate registry office and is assisting in problems of fishing, agriculture, and agricultural consultancy. The cooperation program with the World Bank has several components, such as the rehabilitation of irrigation systems in seven districts, the development of mountain districts, and the forestry project worth about $22 million, as well as an agroprocessing project worth $7 million, which is in the final phase of approval.

Privatization has been the motto of our work. A great deal of work has been done on privatization, with the efforts of all our structures and the support of higher bodies. More than 95.6 percent of the land has now been privatized and 70 percent of the title deeds have been distributed. Stockraising and agricultural machinery have been 100 percent privatized. The privatization of medium-sized enterprises is continuing, and the transformation of enterprises into public companies and, subsequently, stockholding companies is in its final phase. In pursuit of a clear agricultural policy drafted by the government for the establishment and consolidation of private property, the ministry has naturally concentrated on meat and dairy products, in which Albania has a tradition. In the period 1992-94, to confront the difficult situation regarding food supplies for the population, there were no tariff restrictions in the movement of agricultural and food products. At the beginning of this year, following a proposal by the Ministry of Agriculture and Food and the Finance Ministry, the government issued a decree establishing a new system of customs tariffs, which came into effect on 1 July and aims to protect domestic producers and consumers.

We cannot claim that these achievements exhaust the problems of the countryside. We are aware of the difficulties that the countryside is currently facing. These include the limited area of land available per person; the inefficiency of our irrigation systems, where our financial resources have not permitted repair; difficulties in the processing and sale of agricultural and meat and dairy products; difficulties in obtaining credit for long-term investment in fruitgrowing; and other spheres where demands are still not being met, such as the need to create groups of producers, processors, and traders. However, we are constantly aware of these problems and, when the opportunities arise, we intervene to assist by encouraging free initiative.

Asked by KOHA JONE about the depredations of forests beyond all reasonable limits, especially in the districts of Puke and Mirdite, Minister Halili replied:

"Regarding the damage to forests in some northern districts, the first measures must be taken by ourselves at the Agriculture Ministry in cooperation with the General Directorate of Forests. Because of our lack of resources, there have been cases of serious damage in this region—more than in Shkoder, where radio links have been established. The cooperation with the Interior Ministry's police has been very fruitful, while full support has been lacking from other law enforcement bodies. I, therefore, stress the need for greater support from the procurators and the courts over problems connected with forests, orchards, and irrigation systems."

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Asked about the balance between state credits and credits from international organizations, Mr. Halili replied, "In fact, the two kinds of credit must be kept separate. The Albanian state receives considerable loans for investment schemes, while private individuals receive state credits through the Albanian banks."

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Klaus on Government Coalition, Privatization

AU1508155095 Prague DENNI TELEGRAF in Czech 11 Aug 95 p 3

["Regular" interview with Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus by Viktor Krejci in Prague on 10 August: "A Change of Minister Will Not Solve the Health-Care Problem"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Krejci] There is only a year left until the elections. Would it be a good idea to implement some kind of a nonaggression pact within the coalition? Would it be better if the government parties endeavored to attract voters from the opposition or from among the undecided? After all, it does not make any sense to headhunt in each other's camp....

[Klaus] I believe that as the elections approach, the frame of mind to which you refer will become stronger. At the same time, it is obvious that each of these parties must willy-nilly present itself, and this leads to unpleasant consequences for the whole. Therefore, no solution can be found that would settle this situation in an ideal manner.

[Krejci] The Civic Democratic Alliance [ODA] has let it be known that for them no postelectoral coalition with social democrats is feasible. How does the Civic Democratic Party [ODS] feel about this?

[Klaus] The ODA statement was more or less a response to the report on a meeting between ODA Chairman Jan Kalvoda and Milos Zeman, chairman of the Czech Social Democratic Party. I have not had any contact with Mr. Zeman and our party does not have the slightest reason to make any similar statements. [passage omitted]

[Krejci] What is the main reason for the government's decision to sell its holdings in strategic enterprises and banks?

[Klaus] The ministerial council studied in detail the situation in the National Property Fund and expressed its concern that more unprivatized property is being stuck here than we had expected. I will immediately answer the objection about why the government did not become aware of this sooner: They are mostly instances on which the government made a conceptual decision and thereby considered the issue settled. It is clear that the cabinet cannot deal with all the details of the implementation of these cases and does not have the opportunity to check the registry records or to investigate whether there has been some partial settlement with a restitution recipient, etc. The government could never follow these matters in detail. We are of the opinion, however, that there is more property left in the National Property Fund than we wish and, therefore, we want to reduce its volume drastically.

There are several ways to this objective: One is a reduction of strategic shares in 53 important enterprises. Another is getting rid of small holdings in hundreds of enterprises that emerged as a result of the privatization concept of the previous Czech Government. The third way is to accelerate actual privatization of enterprises not yet privatized. The ministerial council has proposed certain ways to work in all these three areas.

[Krejci] Objections have been heard, however—above all from the left wing—that the state should keep a sufficient stake in these strategic enterprises.

[Klaus] Undoubtedly, the state could keep a certain strategic share. It certainly will do so, but we do not see any reason for doing it in 53 enterprise and in enterprises of such a size as at present. [passage omitted]

Social Democrats' Election Prospects Improving

95CH0292C Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 17 Jun 95 p 5

[Commentary by Martin Manak: "Social Democrats One Year Before Elections"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Czech Social Democratic Party [CSSD] is today in the strongest position of its post-November history. Whereas in the June elections of 1992, under the standard of the "magical grandfather" Valtr Komarek, it did not receive even as much as 7 percent of the votes, now, one year before the next elections, the voters' approval of CSSD is beginning to oscillate around 20 percent, according to the opinion polls taken by the most important institutions. Following the election of Milos Zeman as party chairman at the Hradec congress in February 1993, the Social Democrats managed to assume the role of the dominant entity in the political opposition camp. This "approval miracle" strengthened Zeman's confidence so thoroughly that at the April congress in Bohumin he dared to set an almost utopian goal for the party: to enter the government through the "front door." It will certainly not be beside the point to try and answer the question as to where, in fact, are the roots of this so steep an ascent of a party that in 1990 did not manage to gain a seat in the parliament.

Party chairman Zeman views the increased appeal of his party as "the result of long-term work and a positive CSSD program." Such an explanation, of course, must be taken more as a hackneyed joke than a serious reflection. To style going for the government's throat, combined with insults of the "band of political gangsters" type, as constructive work requires a hefty

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

dose of political cynicism. And that the public has ever studied either the Hradec or the Bohumin programs of CSSD is something Zeman can only dream about. And if he maintains that "citizens have a daily opportunity to be convinced—from the price of potatoes to the housing crisis—that the government's policy was based on promises which the Civic Democratic Party in particular had no intention of fulfilling," that is only the umpteenth version of attacks on Klaus's party, which Zeman hates. In spite of that, such verbal venom is, as a lure for attracting followers, a little closer to reality than when Zeman explains the increase in his approval rating as a result of the "positive work by CSSD."

It is understandable that more than five years after the revolution the proreform euphoria has evaporated. Problems, which mostly flow from the abysmal totalitarian dark ages, are beginning to be felt much more keenly by the citizens. CSSD, after it crossed the magic 10-percent favorable rating boundary, is beginning to represent—for all kinds of malcontents, whose relationship to social democratic ideas is otherwise totally irrelevant—a shining beacon on the stormy waters of the political opposition. Among opposition sectarians of all kinds, the social democracy brand name is still considered a guarantee of quality. An important role in the process of bringing the party to the fore was played by Milos Zeman, who with his noisy clamor contributed significantly to the accelerated accumulation of votes from the ranks of the opposition in the CSSD's bag. After all, a pleiad of apostates from the competing opposition parties has been disappearing into that bag for some time now. It is precisely the problems of those organizations that make Zeman's work considerably easier. It is a question, of course, whether the influx of malcontents will improve the quality of the party or if it will make its weak points even weaker. The "cleansing" of the left wing of the political spectrum, even though its course is incomparably slower compared to the right, is, of course, a natural phenomenon. It would occur even without the existence of a by and large able cabaret entertainer who today is holding court in Lidovy House.

Certainly contributing to the "approval boom" of Zeman's party is the quite acceptable picture of the social democratic brand name in West Europe. Sister parties of CSSD enjoy respect there, and in some countries they even occasionally govern. Moreover, CSSD has a significant domestic tradition. In the first republic of CSR it took part in 13 governments.

But Zeman is still very far from his dreamed-about success. True, he succeeded in "erasing" the internal opposition, and today he controls dangerous party notables with the lure of cabinet positions in a shadow government. But the party is teetering on the edge of a bankruptcy abyss, and the debt of more than 80 million korunas could become an unpleasant burden during the election campaign. The quality of the potential CSSD voter base is also uncertain. To put a ballot with Zeman's name into the ballot box could become an unsurmountable obstacle for a dissatisfied centrist voter. It is likely that some of the percent now credited to the Social Democrats will be siphoned off in the end by Grebenicek's communists. Therefore, the biggest task of Zeman's party today is to find suitable candidates, who will from the opposition deputy seats in the next election period improve the face of CSSD to the extent that it will enter the parliamentary contest in the year 2000 with an even chance of winning.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Meciar on Kovac Comments During U.S. Visit

AU1608113695 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 11 Aug 95 p 9

["Excerpts" from "exclusive interview" with Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar by K. Grosmannova in Bratislava on 8 August: "Vladimir Meciar: It Was Not the Only 'Faux Pas'"—reprinted from 10 August issue of Bratislava PRACA in Slovak]

[FBIS Translated Text] According to Vladimir Meciar, by his statements in the United States President Michal Kovac made a greater faux pas than the leaders of the Hungarian Civic Party and Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement, Laszlo Nagy and Bela Bugar, after their visit to the United States. When a PRACA correspondent asked the prime minister, during Press Club [regular Tuesday TV panel discussion with members of the government], whether a solution would not lie in him and the president's finally sorting out their problems, after the president's return [from the United States], Vladimir Meciar replied that such a discussion has already took place. They supposedly sat together for several hours prior to the president's departure for the United States. After Press Club, Vladimir Meciar granted PRACA an exclusive interview.

[Grosmannova] What way out of the situation do you see after the president's interview for Slovak Radio?

[Meciar] First of all, I would not overdramatize the issue. In any case, the parliament will deal with the matter at its September session and will react in some way. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has already asked the U.S. State Department to explain whether these statements mean any change in U.S. policy in relation to the [Slovak] government because two weeks ago, and in several previous letters from President Clinton, a positive attitude toward the government had been expressed. We assess the relations [between the United States and Slovakia] as a positive value and want to develop them as such.

[Grosmannova] So you do not intend to sit down with the president after his return and sort out the problems?

[Meciar] Why should this issue be perceived as one between myself and the president? I neither prepared nor managed the president's trip, I did not even know about it. Each of us is responsible for his own actions. The control function does not pertain to the government but to the parliament.

[Grosmannova] There appears to be a contradiction. During the news conference held in the course of the Tuesday [8 August] cabinet meeting (between 1500 and 1600 hours), government spokesman T. Hasala claimed that the government had not dealt with the issue up to then, but he admitted that it would probably deal with it later on. But at around the same time (at 1616), TASR issued a Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] statement on the matter. I suppose that you did not know about it.

[Meciar] In this case, it happened without my knowledge. I did not leave the cabinet meeting and did not receive this information. I did not attend the HZDS talks on this matter. As regards the delay at the cabinet meeting, we were waiting for an explanatory statement from B. Lichardus, Slovak ambassador to the United States. We received it. Furthermore, we wer waiting for the preparation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs note, which was also made available to us. Well, we also wanted to discuss the matter thoroughly because we perceive it in a broader context. This [President Kovac's comments] has not beene his only "faux pas" in relation to the government. Several of them have been made also within the state when the government's activity was presented negatively and when the government was being placed in a position in which it did not, in fact, find itself.

[Grosmannova] What else will the public learn, on top of the statements made thus far?

[Meciar] The government did not draft any special statement. Only a note from the government was made public, in the sense that it was made available [sentence as published]. (Foreign Minister spokesman J. Matejovsky said on Wednesday that the note could not be published because this would not conform with diplomatic practice—author's note.) The Ministry of Foreign Affairs made available to TASR a part, or the entire transcript, of Ambassador Lichardus's report. I was in favor of making available only a part because the other passage had nothing to do with this matter.

[Grosmannova] How do you, in fact, perceive the award for building a state based on the rule of law that President Michal Kovac received in the United States from the American Bar Association?

[Meciar] I am not going to comment on this at all. I do not know what kind of an organization this is and how significant it is, socially. There is a certain hierarchy in diplomacy and politics: not every award is worthy of the president of the country. And the president himself must guard his standards.... A great deal therefore depends on what kind of an award he received.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

SKOI Supports President's U.S. Comments

AU1608114095 Bratislava SME in Slovak 11 Aug 95 p 2

[Report by "(lsz)": "SKOI: The President Reported Correctly"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—Since the establishment of the Slovak Republic, the U.S. Administration has been declaring its support for Slovakia in its transformation to a democratic legal state with a market economy and has been expressing its interest in the Republic's incorporation into Western structures. This comment is contained in a statement issued by the Permanent Conference of the Civic Institute [SKOI] in connection with the remarks made by President M. Kovac in the United States and the subsequent reactions to them.

According to SKOI representatives, the governing coalition has reacted with pronouncements that grossly misrepresent the purport of the U.S. position, while the publication of an account of President Kovac's lunch with highly placed U.S. Administration officials has proven unequivocally that the president reported on the positions of these officials matter-of-factly and correctly. "The statement issued by the spokesman for the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia, S. Haber, who demanded that President Kovac step down because he spoke the truth, and the disparaging remarks made by Prime Minister Meciar on the Press Club program crowned everything," says SKOI in the statement. Furthermore, it is emphasized in the statement that the stances of the U.S. Administration officials are a warning to the governing coalition, but especially to Slovak citizens, that the world will not accept a two-faced policy.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Parties Unite Against Yugoslav Settlement Policy

LD1608095495 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0500 GMT 16 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Tension has been increasing because Yugoslavia is settling the Krajina Serbs on territories where other nationalities are in the majority. The Hungarian organizations of Vojvodina have decided to act jointly. Arpad Madarasz reports from Ujvidek [Novi Sad].

[Madarasz] In order to avert the dangers of the settlement of Krajina Serb refugees in Vojvodina, the Presidium of the Democratic Community of Vojvodina Hungarians [DZVM] has proposed cooperation with the Association of Vojvodina Hungarians. The aim of the proposal is that the two Hungarian parties, who have had differences, among other things, regarding the issue of autonomy, should form a coalition in all elected bodies to jointly demand that the Serbian authorities change the situation and avert the dangers of this settlement policy.

The DZVM believes that if the joint action does not lead to results, Hungarian representatives should leave all the elected bodies. The Hungarian community of Vojvodina would never forgive them if the settlement was carried out with the assistance of the Hungarian parties, the DZVM statement stresses.

New Shelter Opens for Former Yugoslav Refugees

LD1508174595 Budapest Duna TV in Hungarian 1600 GMT 15 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] New refugees have arrived in the refugee camp of Debrecen [eastern Hungary] from the territory of the former Yugoslavia.

The war in the former Yugoslav states has been forcing an increasing number of people to flee their homes. The Hungarian receiving stations are becoming increasingly crowded. This is why the refugee camp of Debrecen opened on 11 August. Three coaches carried 145 Bosnian Muslims here from Bekescsaba [southeastern Hungary], where they have already gone through public hygiene checkups, and compulsory registration for all who apply for shelter.

Those refugees who had to flee because of war incidents will receive shelter in Hungary until the situation is settled in their homeland.

The Debrecen camp, which is suitable for sheltering 2,000-3,000 people if necessary, has rooms for three, four, six, and eight people. Parliament has earmarked the money from the fund for refugees for the establishment of this center, which provides full provision. In addition to basic services, there are clubs equipped with TV and video sets on every floor.

This week, a further 500 people, currently sheltered in the camp of Nagyatad [southwestern Hungary], are expected to arrive in Debrecen.

MSZP Leader on Horn Government Survival

95CH0324B Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 22 Jul 95 p 10

[Interview with Socialist Party Deputy Chairman Laszlo Mate by Dezso Pinter; place and date not given: "Saturday MAGYAR HIRLAP Special With Laszlo Mate, Hungarian Socialist Party Deputy Chairman—'There Will Be No Coup'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Although certain political factions have no doubt surfaced in the MSZP [Hungarian Socialist Party], Gyula Horn has a decisive enough role in the party to be able to maintain this equilibrium for a long time. Gyula Horn has done much for the MSZP; however, he must lean more on the party center, and must encourage debates within the party that may result in better government. At present, the most interesting MSZP personalities are those who kept silent during the past months, said Laszlo Mate to our correspondent. Mate thinks that if the necessary restrictions are considered as one hundred, then about twenty or thirty have been accomplished. "As things stand now, the coalition will survive the four years."*

[Pinter] One hears with increasing frequency the assumption that since you have contributed much to your party's success at the elections and its financial security, you think the time has come for you to take a more active part in forming party policy as well. Is this a well-founded assumption?

[Mate] I cannot say either yes or no.

[Pinter] Then what can you say?

[Mate] I can say that it is difficult for me to live through the present situation. When, in 1990, I became part of national politics, I tried to keep that small and humiliated and continually defamed opposition party alive and to possibly increase its role in society. We have accomplished that. The MSZP was quite successful in 1994. I myself came to the conclusion by the second half of last year that someone else should continue the work that I have been doing.

[Pinter] What was the essence of that work?

[Mate] The party had to remain on its feet financially. We had to accomplish that while everyone was on our back. The accounting for party property lasted two years, at least five people from the State Accounting Office always being present. We survived fourteen investigations conducted by the Prosecutor's Office as

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

well as other denunciations. When at our fall congress I passed on my duties in financing, I told everyone that I do not want to do any such work in the future. This activity always puts the responsibility on one person, and he who is given this task is trusted. At our October 1994 congress I happened to be elected deputy chairman. I see how utterly important power is for many politicians. I feel mostly bitterness when I see that things do not always go well and accurately. I no doubt have some suggestions for changing one or another situation, some of which are accepted, some are not.

[Pinter] Are you perturbed when your concepts elicit heated debates both within and without your party?

[Mate] Of course not! Some of my colleagues try to portray my views as "part of my literary activity" or as a private opinion. Strangely, there are always those who believe that they have the right to make such claims. As if one and the same person could have an official as well as a personal opinion! I simply have an opinion, and I voice it. I am not particularly interested in who likes it and who does not.

[Pinter] Some of your views seem to differ from the party line.

[Mate] What differences are you referring to?

[Pinter] You were the first to mention in the party that the socialist-liberal government coalition must be maintained at all cost.

[Mate] It was I who wanted this coalition. Even before the official talks, we were already negotiating with several leaders of the Alliance of Free Democrats with regard to a possible coalition. There seemed to be simply no other political force for either of us to make an alliance with.

For a special situation developed. We made our agreement on the coalition, and then all we could hear was what the SZDSZ likes or dislikes, and what kind of rights the prime minister should have and what he may not do. The climax came when the SZDSZ questioned on television whether Prime Minister Gyula Horn has the right to propose that firefighters get a two-week advance from their 13th-month pay. During those times I really said that this cannot go on like this. For the election was won by the MSZP, and not by the SZDSZ. Our relations were sour, and I was afraid that they would become even worse. Fortunately, reason prevailed both in the MSZP and the SZDSZ. As things stand now, the coalition will survive the four years. The prognosis was not so good at the end of last year.

[Pinter] At what kind of recognitions have the coalition partners arrived since then?

[Mate] Mistrust has decreased, the two memberships came closer to each other. In general, we discontinued sending messages through the press. There are fewer assumptions, and if we have any doubts, we mutually call each other on the telephone. The pressure resulting from our ideas on economic policy, and the unspeakable style of today's opposition forge us together.

[Pinter] You have repeatedly voiced your opinion that the free democrats did not bring as many new elements into developing the government's economic policy as expected. What was the reason for that?

[Mate] It was very late, two or three months before the elections, when the recognition surfaced within the MSZP that we may become a government party. Prior to that, we were dreaming of a strong opposition socialist party, of the possibility that we could even double the number of our 33 parliamentary representatives. We ended up with 209 representatives. The attitude of the SZDSZ, too, was mostly determined by its oppositional role, and this showed when it had to come forward with ideas on governing. Subsequently, we needed about six or eight months for the Horn administration to collect the appropriate data, to see the real economic processes, and to begin its real work.

[Pinter] How many [months]?

[Mate] Six to eight months. Yes, this is an unbelievably long time, not necessarily by default of the administration. The Hungarian Democratic Forum could not face the possibility of becoming the opposition. They were preparing for remaining a government party and expected us to remain in the opposition. Six to eight months were needed for the change.

[Pinter] How is the MSZP's economic policy being developed at present? Where are the task forces, and who are the authors?

[Mate] We are struggling with abundance. I can name several task forces. One works with the party's national council. Andras Vertes, Rezso Nyers, Miklos Horn, and others have put together some social-democratic ideas on what is to be expected in our economy during the next 10-15 years. Another task force, relying mainly on the opinion of experts of the Ministry of Industry, has evaluated our possible shorter-term accomplishments. The third task force is working on the government's modernization program, the establishment of a state treasury, and the national budget reform. The latter task force was set up under the minister of finance.

[Pinter] Do these task forces have a real influence on the administration's economic policy? Or are there any other groups that are even more influential?

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

[Mate] We need a center within the government that has the courage to determine what measures are necessary for stabilization. This center cannot be represented exclusively by the finance minister, just as in a company where the chief bookkeeper is not the sole person to develop strategies. Rabar's program, Kupa's program, Szabo's program and Bekesi's program did exist since 1990, and now we have Bokros's program. We saw that after two or three months, the incumbent finance ministers were only interested in patching up the following year's budget deficit. We need something more than that. I do not want to reinstate planned economy, but it is no accident that the largest buildings in Tokyo and Paris belong to the planning agencies. The economy must be planned. Without a consistent and decade-long economic policy, Japan probably would not be where it is now. There are two kinds of drivers in Budapest. One buys a tankful of gas, and then constantly revs up the engine, changes lanes, brakes suddenly, and sounds the horn. He is driving without a destination, but wants to give the impression of going somewhere. The other one has a destination, and calmly starts out. Sometimes he, too, gets a red light, has to change lanes, or comes to a detour, but he is going somewhere because he knows his destination, which he will eventually reach.

[Pinter] Which kind of driver is the present finance minister?

[Mate] He seems to know where he is going, although his destination is not entirely clear for the public. One has the impression that we do have enough gas, we push down the gas pedal, we yell and become angry, but our destination which we want to reach in a few months or a few years is not very clear. This issue, then, is not only an issue of Lajos Bokros. It is a much bigger issue.

[Pinter] Is it true that you stated in a small political circle that someone else other than Lajos Bokros will be needed for the implementation of next year's budget?

[Mate] It is not true. I reject any effort that is directed to undermine the position of any government official. At present we have a great need for Bokros, and he must not be enfeebled from the background. I did not hear any serious argument against stabilization, i.e., a decrease in government expenditures. No one was able to convince me that there is another solution at a time when our GDP decreased by 20 percent during the past four years while government expenditures doubled. No one can bring in money overnight. Although there are encouraging signs in the economy, it is time for restrictions; we must also begin to increase our exports, because—and I agree with Gabor Kuncze in this regard—no one has ever become rich merely by spending less.

[Pinter] Why do you think people say that you want to let the finance minister go?

[Mate] Many people's favorite political game is that they know for certain—and tell everyone—what the other person is thinking. I often hear opinions that are allegedly mine, and about affairs that are handled, referring to me, by people I do not even know. This is just another thing one must get used to. The finance minister must be encouraged to continue what he began. If there is anything for which Bokros can be criticized, it is his style, which is sometimes mindboggling. He still does not understand that it is not only his own skin that he is risking. In this regard, I liked an earlier Israeli finance minister's style the best. Whenever an economic problem emerged, he took a restrictive measure in the morning, and then spent all day apologizing to his country for having been forced to take that measure. He promised that nothing like that would ever happen again. In the evening he announced his next restrictive measure, and then the next morning he apologized to his country, for he knew that a minister must offer service.

[Pinter] It seems that the debate on the administration's style and party relations have not yet come to an end among the MSZP leadership and parliamentary representatives. Where can these differences of opinion lead to?

[Mate] The way I see it is that this administration initially wanted to follow the footsteps of the Miklos Nemeth, Jozsef Antall, and Peter Boross administrations. In other words, the party, once it becomes a government party, is not important anymore, it is the government that has the exclusive task of governing, perhaps seeking only the support of party representatives in parliament. This practice elicited great storms in the MSZP; fortunately, it has been modified. Now reconciliation plays a larger role, the debates are more meaningful, and a single opinion is not a threat to party unity anymore; the view of the majority is becoming more and more decisive. To answer your question, most MSZP leaders are now behind the administration and, what is even more important, behind its present economic policy.

[Pinter] In your opinion, what are the chances of those who openly oppose Gyula Horn's ideas within the party?

[Mate] Gyula Horn has a decisive role in the party, and he has a chance to maintain this equilibrium for a long time. No one should forget that our real opponents are demagogy (generated mostly by the Independent Smallholders Party) and the feigned self-confidence of the Hungarian Democratic Forum and the Christian-Democratic People's Party. [Another opponent of ours]

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

is [the notion] that they have allegedly nothing to do with the period from 1990 to 1994 and the ruining of our economy, agriculture, and exports.

[Pinter] Are there many MSZP leaders who want to separate the positions of party chairman and prime minister?

[Mate] There are not many but they, too, must realize that they are mistaken. Separation would result in daily conflicts between the party chairman and the prime minister—nominated by the party. There would be two centers, and that would be destructive. In accordance with our election promises, the administration and the party chairman-prime minister must follow a very sensible and balanced policy.

[Pinter] To what extent does Gyula Horn live up to these expectations?

[Mate] Horn has done much for the MSZP; however, he must lean more on the party center, and must encourage debates within the party that may result in better government.

[Pinter] On whom does Gyula Horn lean now?

[Mate] I do not always know. Sometimes it seems as if he had more trust in those who have been outside the party during the past four years and, consequently, it was on 13 March when he presented the 12 March decisions to the national committee. One cannot do this too often. Gyula Horn claims that everything is always leaked out ahead of time in this party. But if he feels excluded, this party will not live up to its tasks and will not support the government.

[Pinter] Is it possible that, because of this, Horn will find himself next fall at the MSZP congress at odds with some of the party factions that are being organized at present, or with some party personalities?

[Mate] There will be no coup. Anyone who nurtures such notions will become isolated. Gyula Horn has much power in the party. Anyway, we elected our officers last October, and this subject will not be timely for another year.

[Pinter] Supporting groups seem to be surfacing behind some important MSZP personalities—in the party, in the administration, in public politics, and in the economy. Allegedly, you too expect a little more organized support. Is this a true assumption?

[Mate] Certain political factions have no doubt surfaced in the MSZP. I find this very natural. There is, for instance, a trade union lobby, and there are some powerful groups as well that represent the interests of entrepreneurs and employers in the party. Our interest is in keeping the various views in balance, and not in bulldozing opposing views. There is an industrial lobby and an agricultural lobby as well.

[Pinter] Are such lobbies being organized around you as well?

[Mate] I do not know for sure. I never earned my livelihood from the party, I was an entrepreneur even during the past years. I have rather good relations with business leaders who, incidentally, are Hungary's best taxpayers. I have excellent relations with certain bank circles and with leaders of the largest state enterprises. All this is fact.

[Pinter] In case you will have strong support, what do you intend to do with that power within the MSZP?

[Mate] I think that our economy's improvement is the most important thing. I feel that I lack real political ambitions. I often support those who are under attack, for the loudest people may not be always right. At present, the most interesting MSZP personalities are those who kept silent during the past months. Those who do not think that they must make two statements each day to make life worth living. One should listen to the silent ones. There are many of them.

[Pinter] Are you not afraid that you will be criticized for your economic activity? In the present situation (which is transient from this aspect as well) can a politician be blackmailed because of his preventive economic measures and interests?

[Mate] I was extremely careful not to do anything illegal. I was even more careful between 1990 and 1994. No one has ever tried to blackmail me for anything. There have been talk and smears, yes, but never any evidence. This is true of the entire party and the administration as well. Unlike [members of] the previous administration, no one in this one has been accused of accepting bribes.

[Pinter] Are you willing to reveal the names of those national committee members who are particularly close to you politically?

[Mate] That always depends of the prevailing political views. There is no one with whom I always agree, and there is no one with whom I always disagree. In the national committee, I have high regard for House Speaker Zoltan Gal's soberness, Minister of Foreign Affairs Laszlo Kovacs's exacting logic, parliamentary group leader Imre Szekeres's actions that are becoming easier to anticipate, Minister of Environment Ferenc Baja's personal style, and I am able to follow Ferenc Kosa, who has a big heart and waves like the sea. Among the new persons, I have come to know Jozsef

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Simon, Vilmos Fedor, and Ildiko Lendvai as especially talented.

[Pinter] What are the challenges for the various views, which are also manifest in the national committee's composition?

[Mate] A few more major rounds remain in the economy. The national budget reform will cause another shock. If the necessary restrictions are considered as one hundred, then about twenty or thirty have been accomplished. However, some progress should be perceptible by 1997, resulting, I think, from increased exports and relatively decreased imports. Everyone was aware in 1994 that it is not enough to cook a steer, it is not enough to open uncompleted expressways at each finished mile, it is not enough to rename a few streets; for these, no party will be reelected. I am optimistic because the economy is finally moving. But no one should have any illusions. Lajos Bokros will come forward with new ideas which, hopefully, will be better thought out before they are made public. I am not expecting any earthshaking event because the MSZP and the administration maintain a dialogue with society.

Snapshot of Horn Government Group Described

95CH0324C Budapest TALLOZO in Hungarian 20 Jul 95 p 1353

[Article by Laszlo Zsilka: "A Group Picture That Includes Horn"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In looking at the group picture of the present cabinet, one can say that the dismissal of the minister of industry and commerce was entirely clear and logical, one could even say that it was time. It is a wonder that he managed to hold on so long.

If I would see Laszlo Pal on the street at dusk, I would not automatically cross to the other side of the street. It is thus clear that with this face it is quite impossible to do the walk-on part in a coproduction film about the privatization of energy companies.

As a result of Gyula Horn's cadre development policy, almost a contra-government is sitting among socialist representatives, and the halos around the heads of its members are brighter than ever: they are the dismissed ministers and state secretaries. They have become ever more popular since the prime minister's good-bye kiss, constantly being asked to be present at various forums, the public wanting to see and to hear them.

But not the boss, who is not after cheap success, for his makeup people are trying to convince him in vain to tie his necktie in a way that will hide his shirt's top button. He does not listen to his speech writer either: he bluntly says what he thinks, with no manipulation, no media trick. Even in the strictest sense of the word, he broke free of the obsolete theory of humane socialism. Politicians and papers abroad praise him for this.

We are living through difficult times, and it is better if people understand this fact merely by looking at the eyes and faces of its leaders. The prime minister does not offer a pig in a poke but is consistent in his personnel policy. His guiding principle is a harmony between outer appearance and inner substance, a unity between content and form. He is ever more careful to select adequately qualified people for presenting the decisions of his cabinet and the administration's policies to the public. He gets the credit for the stunt of mass psychology, whereby we tend to think of Laszlo Bekesi almost with nostalgia. With this act, Horn outdid every PR manager and beat every headhunter [fajvadasz] because he was able to do this only by recruiting Lajos Bokros. His appointment proved to be a bull's-eye hit. His is the face from which reality is shining toward us.

Other changes in personnel also revealed [Horn's] intention not to agitate the population with personalities who may create some illusions and may become likable. Let the citizen be aware right away that the wind has changed whenever he sees a minister. Former minister of social welfare Laszlo Pal could still go in a pub and have a beer. I would not recommend this to his successor, for not even physicians would tolerate him at a meeting. But this is the best proof of his suitability! And, if he would take part in the game that begins with "I am coming from America, and my job is...," even a child with little imagination would know without any hesitation the original occupation of the present minister of intelligence services.

Of course, there are some members of the socialist cabinet who proved to be effective the first time around. In formation and with ammunition belts across their chests, Pal Vastagh and Tamas Suchman would probably make even the Ukrainian mafia flee—had they not had to struggle instead for law and privatization.

In continuing to look at the group picture, I will risk the statement that the people of the Republic Square [old communist headquarters] have found the right team for fulfilling their historic mission. No more changes are expected among them. And now Gyula Horn can really be sorry to have made that coalition agreement. For his work cannot be perfect this way. He cannot touch the posts of the free democrats who fill them with their own people or with sympathizers. There, however, everyone is BEAUTIFUL to begin with, as their favorite slogan says.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Minister: U.S. Plan Supports Contact Group Idea

LD1608082995 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0700 GMT 16 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The new U.S. plan clearly supports the Contact Group's concept, including the 51-to-49-percent ratio in favor of the Bosniak-Croat side, the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the right of the refugees to return to their homes.

In addition, it introduces some new ideas with the aim of exerting pressure on the Bosnian Serbs to accept the plan, the Bosnian foreign minister has said. Last night in Split, he had a three-hour meeting with a U.S. delegation headed by assistant Secretary of State Richard Holbrooke. [passage omitted]

Envoy Condemns Plan

AU1508180195 Paris AFP in English 1457 GMT 15 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] London, Aug 15 (AFP)—The latest U.S. peace plan for Bosnia has "no chance at all" and is intended simply to "buy time for the Serbs," the Bosnian ambassador in London said Tuesday [15 August].

"New attempts to justify and legalize Serbian crimes, which are being described as the peace plans, have not any importance to us and cannot be accepted," Muhamed Filipovic told a press conference alongside Croatian ambassador Ante Cicin-Sain.

Cicin-Sain said there was "a notable apprehension among the Croatian Government" over the U.S. plan to be carried to Sarajevo by U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Richard Holbrooke, whose visit to the Bosnian capital Tuesday was postponed for "two or three days."

"We will never trade our country," said the Bosnian ambassador. "We will never leave the frontier on the Drina River, which is a millennium-long boundary... Because of that, the American plan...has the fate of all previous plans...it will be defeated."

Cicin-Sain, however, was less dismissive of the plan than Filipovic, saying, "On the whole, due to American proposals or to developments on the ground, I would definitely claim that the chances for a peace arrangement are better now than they have been ever before in the last four years."

Peace in the former Yugoslavia, said Filipovic, "is possible only when the Serbs accept the still valid contact group (Britain, France, Germany, Russia and the U.S.) peace plan, when Serbia recognizes Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia as independent and sovereign states."

The U.S. plan would not work "because (Bosnian) President (Alija) Izetbegovic has already rejected (it). He said clearly we are not under any circumstances going to leave Gorazde..." because to do so would be tantamount to "legalizing genocide which has been committed in Srebrenica.... It is unjust and immoral."

Filipovic poured scorn on the United Nations Protection Force in the former Yugoslavia, asking, "What are they doing there? They are not protecting the peace because peace is not existent. They are not defending the safe areas. They are not defending the routes. They are not defending the people. They are not defending even themselves."

UN Secretary-General Butrus Butrus-Ghali, he said, "has used humanitarian aid in Bosnia as a means of political blackmail of our government.

"Representatives of the UN have threatened to stop delivering...aid if we do not accept this or that... They have prevented all actions against the advancing Serbian forces, hidden crimes committed.

"This is why we refuse to have any contact with (UN envoy) Yasushi Akashi," he said. "Those people should finish up before an international tribunal for war crimes."

TELEGRAF Details Plan

LD1608132195 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1145 GMT 16 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 16 Aug (SRNA)—The new U.S. peace plan envisages a final division of Bosnia-Herzegovina into the Croat-Muslim federation and the Serb Republic, the TELEGRAF weekly reports today.

TELEGRAF cites well-informed diplomatic sources and reveals details of the plan, which grants the Serbs access to the sea in Konavli, Orasje, and a 20-kilometer wide corridor, while the Croats get Trebinje.

The weekly's sources say that the Serb part of the coast will be 18 kilometers long and will extend from the Montenegrin border to Cilipi.

According to the new U.S. map, the Muslim enclave of Gorazde will be exchanged for Serb parts of Sarajevo, most probably for the area between Ilidza and Ilijas, to secure a Muslim corridor to Sarajevo.

TELEGRAF also cites the reaction of Bozidar Vucurovic, president of the Trebinje war presidency, to

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

the new U.S. plan, under which Trebinje will be "surrendered" to the Croats.

"The Americans must be joking. We are not interested in plans and maps any more. Soldiers will determine the borders, and that is how the war will end. We will not hand over Serb Herzegovina, of course," Vucurovic said.

Sacirbegovic Views Foreign, Domestic Politics

AU1608083695 Sarajevo LJILJAN in Serbo-Croatian 9 Aug 95 p 5

[Interview with Bosnian Foreign Minister Muhamed Sacirbegovic by Nedzad Latic; place and date not given: "We Shall Demand Everything: Arms and Also That UNPROFOR Stays!"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Latic] Mr. Sacirbegovic, in the short time you have been foreign minister, some very important things for Bosnia have happened: the London conference, the meeting of the Islamic countries in Geneva, the vote on the lifting of the arms embargo against Bosnia-Herzegovina in the Senate and the House of Representatives of the U.S. Congress, the awakening of the Islamic world...

[Sacirbegovic] So far, we have been dedicated and persistent in our demands that the world should administer a sort of justice in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Some of it we did achieve—for instance, relief aid, the promise that the world would protect us, and so forth—but you see, as time goes by they forget about us, they have even forgotten who the victim or the aggressor is, because the world wants us to remain the victim, and, as long as we are the victim, it is easier for them to feel sympathy for us. Everything has been planned because they want to hamper or at least carve up our future. For that reason, it should be made quite clear: We have to take our own destiny and the responsibility for the future into our own hands. From our experiences so far, we know that, in the future, one should avoid any unclear frameworks that the international community has established for our country and work more directly at establishing bilateral relations with certain states. Such relations are already giving results, say, with the United States, with Islamic countries, as well as with some West European countries such as the Netherlands. The most important result of such an approach to diplomacy is the relationship with Croatia. Each of those countries has some interests; perhaps they even like us, or perhaps they have strategic interests in Bosnia, as is, for instance, particularly the case with Croatia. This fact can be a basis for developing international relations or new alliances, or for restoring old ones. I think we have lived too long with the illusion that the world would help us just because we are the victim. Many feel sympathy for us. Some do not because we are Muslims, and, as such, we are less valuable as a victim to them. When speaking of strategic interests, they are not conditioned by only religious or ethnic affiliations. That is to say, a great many Western countries are not ready to sacrifice themselves for us regardless of how great a victim we really are or how committed we are to defending some universal principles. I have come from that world, and I can say that I am familiar with it. For us, it would be particularly important if functional integration of those interests were to come about, which means the integration of the strategic interests of the United States, Islamic countries, Croatia, and, after all, our strategic interests as well. That means that all of those interests should be integrated into a single plan of joint action so that it would work and function. Then we would no longer be dependent on sympathies or on a continued presence in foreign media reports.

[Latic] What does the more radical stance of King Fahd regarding the arming of Bosnia, demonstrations in Iran, the attitude of Malaysia mean concretely?

[Sacirbegovic] That is difficult to assess. I think it is a matter of countries that have strategic interests in Bosnia, as well as countries that have identified their principles with strategic interests, like Malaysia, for instance. Some countries view all of this as a great pogrom against Muslims, and they want to help us as Muslims. That is all right, but behind it there is a great danger because such an attitude is providing the chetniks with a justification, which they are using persistently to try and convince the world that the issue is a conflict between Islam and Christianity. Islam, perhaps, is the victim here. Perhaps some people want to destroy it in this region, but Karadzic and Mladic ought not be given so much importance, and the world should not be made to think that they are fighting for some religious principles. Fascism and crime are their motives for this war. When speaking of the sympathies of some Islamic countries and peoples, that is also to be regarded as a strategic interest, which means that the West is supposed to defend principles here, regardless of whether they favor Muslims or non-Muslims. So far, the West—or such is the general impression at least—has defended principles only when they involved blue eyes or the cross. That is really sad, but we have to be realistic, which is what our three-year-long political experience has taught us to be. The West has never been in a dilemma about who ought to be helped, but it is the question against whom it ought to fight that the West has been doubtful about. If we look at the wars since World War II and even before it, the West always waged them against colored peoples, either yellow or

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

black. Of course, for the sake of its own future, the West must abandon such a policy, particularly if the Westerners refer to themselves as the fathers of the civilization most inclined to freedom and democracy. I, however, must say I do not think so. We have never reacted appropriately to precisely this self-declaration of the West. We sometimes protest against the West's abandoning of those principles because they have not produced an effect in the case of our plight today. The problem is not only in the principles alone but also in the accountability of those who have taken on the responsibility and obligation to defend those principles. We are now supposed to adopt the principles of pluralism, justice, and democracy ourselves and to tell them: You have abandoned those principles, you have betrayed them, and we are defending them and will do so, but not because of London or Paris, at least not now, but because of Bosnia-Herzegovina and its 1,000-year-long tradition. Therefore, whatever peace may be achieved in Bosnia-Herzegovina, it will not make us abandon those principles. We will fight for justice, democracy, and pluralism.

[Latic] Let us talk about both the positive and the negative circumstances: Milosevic sent a letter in which he called for peace.

[Sacirbegovic] We know that Milosevic has always said one thing and done another. I do not think there is anything significant for us in his letter. He wants to compare President Izetbegovic with General Mladic—that is, the so-called general, who should be better called a war criminal and, as such, has already been indicted. That is definitely unacceptable. If Milosevic really wants to halt the war, he can do so quite easily, for which he does not need Mladic, Karadzic, or Krajisnik because he is supplying them with food and arms. After all, it is he who gave them their war assignments. It is not enough to say that those are just worthless tricks; his conduct is extremely impudent. Just imagine—to address the same letter to a president, who is defending his country and people, and to a war criminal, who is attacking that country and committing the most horrible atrocities against its people! Only Milosevic is capable of doing that! One should openly show disdain for such letters because they are coming from precisely the one man who is responsible for all those crimes. That move of his has a political context as well—Milosevic wanted to dupe us and the international community once more. When efforts were being made to accomplish the mutual recognition of the states of former Yugoslavia through Milosevic, he made gradual moves, only to eventually express his willingness to recognize Bosnia-Herzegovina, but on his terms. Everything has been done deliberately, with the goal of diminishing our legitimacy and statehood.

[Latic] Were there any concrete results of such diplomacy in the perspective, and how is the international community reacting to that? Concretely, are there any results of the Split Agreement?

[Sacirbegovic] The main goal is that we are making gradual steps. The arrival of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] in Bosnia was subordinated to the global goal, and now we are paying for that. UNPROFOR has become an army with 15 commanders. Those commanders are found in the capitals of the countries whose troops are deployed in Bosnia as part of UNPROFOR: London, Moscow, Paris.... If that is so, we should make an agreement with those countries. For that reason, we are now negotiating with Malaysia because we want to regulate mutual relations and the status of their troops rather than have them here deployed under the auspices of the international community while their behavior in Bosnia in political terms is further dictated from the capitals of those countries. You can see that the international community is responding in such a way that there are demands for lifting the arms embargo in the U.S. Senate, Malaysia, and other countries that say: We do not support that embargo, and we shall ship arms, but not so as to have planes with arms shipments landing in Sarajevo, so that everybody can see it. The result of those decisions will be seen on the front. Some countries' soldiers want to stay in Bosnia and help us by taking part in the UNPROFOR mission, but with a just mandate. That is, those are all reasons that things are settled on the level of multilateral relations rather than on the level of some global goals, which the Bosniaks see as just a great illusion.

As for our attitude that we want everything, that is true. We do want everything. As much as we can do and get for our people, we shall do and get. We have a right to that. As a framework, UNPROFOR is finished. It is used up. The forces that are now in Bosnia, made up of French, Russian, English, and Dutch troops, should decide for themselves whether and under what conditions they will stay here. We also have a problem regarding logistics and finances. Who will support them? For that reason, we are negotiating with them directly. Let them accuse us of whatever they want. I accuse UNPROFOR of blackmail. We shall try to get the greatest help, to which we are entitled. They are accusing us, using the example of Malaysia, which wants to arm us, but also to keep its troops here—which, in their opinion, is a contradiction. If it does not suit Malaysia to keep its troops here, we shall assist in their withdrawal, but, in return, we shall demand some other kind of aid. The point is that we, by defining

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

our interests and relations with other states, want to finally learn who our friends are. Our friends are those who want to help us, but not only by lifting the arms embargo or by deploying troops here, which has been talked about most frequently. That aid will not reach us at once, like a cloudburst. But even a drizzle will fill up the lake from which Bosnia will gather the strength to defend itself.

[Latic] You have been a great supporter of Bosnia's rapprochement with Croatia. That fact obviously makes you feel good today.

[Sacirbegovic] Of course it does because I see that relations are improving. I believe that the alliance will not disappoint me. In the war, it is necessary to have cooperation between Bosnia and Croatia because we are fighting against the same aggressor, while the geopolitical situation is such that we shall be orientated toward each other in peacetime as well. Now our relations are being developed trilaterally, which means Bosnia, Croatia, and a third friendly country, and, on that basis, we are developing our strategic interests.

[Latic] The press has reported that some U.S. officers are working in the Croatian Army. The public is quite eager to know whether there are also U.S. officers in the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina and whether the United States has already provided the Bosnian Army with arms.

[Sacirbegovic] It is well known that we have U.S. officers as advisers on the implementation of the Federation and the organization of joint military forces. Some accusations on the part of England and France are aimed at disrupting their operation because they obviously disagree with it.

[Latic] Some people claim that the Americans are arming us. The argument they use is the M-16 gun used by our soldiers.

[Sacirbegovic] I would be happy to be able to confirm that. Unfortunately, that is not true, and the Americans should be ashamed because we have deserved that aid and because our interests are the same. The United States, by not having aided us, has betrayed us.

[Latic] How do you assess the idea of deployment of the international force?

[Sacirbegovic] That is a positive thing. The problem is that we are still not organized well enough to accept it. That idea supports both the principles of Islam and those of pluralism and democracy.

[Latic] THE WALL STREET JOURNAL claims that the liberation of Bosansko Grahovo and Glamoc was a matter of agreement.

[Sacirbegovic] We should beware of propaganda aimed at disturbing relations with Croatia. Many people welcomed the conflict that happened. I think that because of that conflict we lost much more on the political plane because our enemies were able to claim that the war in Bosnia is an ethnic conflict rather than aggression, which presupposes the relation between a victim and an aggressor or, rather, between justice and injustice. Perhaps they do not want a real war, but they would certainly be pleased to see ethnic skirmishes that would enable them to impose themselves in the situation and control it. Remember, an agreement between Croatia and Serbia would suit those people. The current military situation is the result of one agreement, though: the Split Agreement.

[Latic] In such a situation, the prime minister has resigned. What do you think about that?

[Sacirbegovic] We have allowed Bosnia's policy to be pursued along some personal lines for too long. What happened yesterday, in my opinion, does not call Bosnia's future into question. Nor will it call into question our ability to supply food for our citizens, to defend them, or to fight. This is a personal matter. I think that no person is more important than Bosnia and its future. It would be good if the issue did not escalate further because we all have to be ready to work within the frame of a system, as one team. In that team there may be people with greater responsibilities, but there must be equal treatment of all of its members. I have the opportunity to appear on television more frequently, perhaps because of my language, or perhaps because of my American background, but that does not give me the right to dictate policy. I would like to say that, when I pursue the foreign policy of my country, it is not always as I think it should be or that things are done as they should be done. I pursue the policy of consensus, agreement, and coordination among all those who are supposed to have an influence on it. The secret is not in the work itself or who knows or understands it best because we always have different opinions. The secret is in being able to cooperate and implement what has been agreed upon in the best way, even if we do not agree fully with that because, after all, I cannot pursue policy independently from the army or the government, and, for that reason, we need people who are willing to cooperate and make compromises rather than assertive individualists. Personalities are important in terms of performance because it is important to know who is speaking and who is responsible for what has been said. Perhaps appearances are important to the West, but we care far more about the substance.

[Latic] Reactions to Silajdzic's offered resignation differ. The most radical go as far as to say that the politi-

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

cians are packing their bags and leaving the people in the lurch. Is that not a somewhat panicky reaction?

[Sacirbegovic] I would not say so. On the following day, the Assembly resumed its work quite normally, diplomatic activity has been intense and important, and the situation on the front has been improving.

[Latic] We have taken quite hard losses: the recent assassination of Irfan Ljubijankic, Ejup Ganic's car accident.... The famous trefoil of Bosnia-Herzegovina's democracy has been broken.

[Sacirbegovic] Yes, it is all quite difficult. After all, we all have limited lives. Some will grow tired, some will resign, and some will die. Therefore we have to be ready to add new forces, new visions. When a newcomer comes, we have to offer him opportunities for cooperation. We have lost many important and capable people in this war—we have lost Hakija Turajlic, and some have gone abroad.

[Latic] Only the best have remained.

[Sacirbegovic] I do not think so, and I would rather not assess personalities, but they do not exist because of the state, but, rather, the state exists because of them. I would not be Muhamed Sacirbegovic and the man I am if there had not been Bosnia and its strength to defend itself. Otherwise, I would now be writing some books on history—that there was once a state here, a state that lived for only several months and was killed by aggression and genocide. Fortunately, that did not happen. For that reason, I am a diplomat rather than a historian.

Izetbegovic Writes to UN About Sandzak Issue

AU1508205395 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 15 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, has sent a letter to UN Security Council Chairman Nugroho Winsnumurti.

The authorities of the so-called Yugoslavia have been settling Serbian refugees from Croatia en masse in Sandzak, Kosovo, and Vojvodina, areas populated mainly by non-Serb people. Last week, Belgrade officially announced through the Red Cross that 1,500 refugees from Croatia will be settled in Novo Pazar and 1,000 in Sjenica. Settlement projections for other Sandzak villages are expected soon. Belgrade's intention is clearly to change by force the ethnic character of Sandzak for the benefit of the Serb population.

As Serbs from Croatia were proved to have participated in genocide on Bosniaks in 1992-93, this time the situation is created whereby executioners and victims are finding themselves in the same territory. One can hardly think of a more [word indistinct] scenario.

On the other hand, settlement has been intensified in Sandzak villages, where Bosniaks have recently been forced by means of state terror to flee their old homes to save their lives. Fifty-one such villages are involved in the vicinity of Priboj and Pljevlja near the Bosnian border.

All of these facts have been confirmed in the field and more closely described in the letter I just received from the Muslim National Council of Sandzak.

On behalf of the state bodies of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, I most energetically protest the above acts of changing the current demographic situation and ethnically cleansing this traditionally Bosniak region.

Esteemed Sir, please take steps required by the seriousness of the situation, states the letter of President Alija Izetbegovic to the chairman of the UN Security Council.

Extraordinary Session Views Refugees From Tuzla

AU1508203095 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 15 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] An extraordinary session of the Government of the Republic and Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina was held in Sarajevo at midday today. The session was devoted to the position of Bosniaks and Croats in the Banja Luka region. Issues concerning the cooperation of Bosnia-Herzegovina with the Federal Republic of Germany and coming visits by government delegations to Bihac and some foreign countries were also discussed at the session. After the government session, Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic held a news conference. Here is a report by Mehmedalija Sisic:

[Begin recording] [Sisic] Muharem Cero, minister for refugees and social protection, presented the latest facts, that 660 expelled Bosniaks and Croats arrived in Dvor today. They each had to pay 1,700 German marks. Koljevic had signed a document with the International Red Cross on refugee conditions, but Karadzic changed this, so men are now being separated from their families and taken in some other direction.

Zeljko Varunek, secretary at the Ministry of the Interior, informed government members that the situation in the Banja Luka region is very complex and that local authorities are evicting people from their apartments and planning to expel all of the non-Serb population from Banja Luka by the end of August, including Serbs from mixed marriages and Romanies.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

After the extraordinary government session, Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic held a news conference on the situation in the Banja Luka region and, at its beginning, said the following:

[Silajdzic] It is known that the situation has grown much worse, that 40,000 Serbs from Croatia have arrived in the Banja Luka region and that the situation for Bosniaks, Croats, Romanies, and other non-Serbs in this region has worsened so much that people are being killed, evicted, and the like. Some of these people are being sent to the front lines.

Sincerely speaking, we do not know what to do for these people and how to, above all, save their lives. Today the government decided to contact the Government of the Russian Federation in considering the influence the Russian Government has in Belgrade to help save the lives of the people who are being expelled from Banja Luka.

We know that men are being separated from women. That [words indistinct] in Srebrenica. We are afraid of a repetition of Srebrenica—that is, mass killings, mass graves—so I have already written a letter to Russian Prime Minister Chernomyrdin, in which we ask the Russian Government to exert its influence on Belgrade to have these people, the non-Serbs who have been expelled from Banja Luka—and we unfortunately cannot stop that—treated more humanely—that is, to note above all that men are being separated from the rest, that the Manjaca Camp has been reactivated, and that mass killings may take place.

We are sure that, although it supports the Belgrade regime, the Russian Government does not support what is happening in the field of violating basic human rights in the Banja Luka region.

Therefore, involved here is not only the city of Banja Luka but also Prnjavor and other towns.

[Sisic] Prime Minister Silajdzic also spoke about the serious situation among the refuges from Srebrenica who are now at the Tuzla airport. There are about 5,000 people, and the area has been virtually flooded. The government has decided to find some better solutions for these people together with the canton authorities.

Concerning other topics, one should say that the government today also discussed the issues related to the cooperation of Bosnia-Herzegovina with the Federal Republic of Germany and the forthcoming visits government delegations are to pay to Bihac and some foreign countries.

Concerning relations with Germany, that country's reply to our country's initiative on the bases of the cooperation program was heard at today's session. The session assessed the basis for the program given in response to our country as good and realistic, and a team of experts was appointed to realize this cooperation, which consists of humanitarian, economic, and cultural cooperation, as well as everything that is in the two countries' interest. [end recording]

Silajdzic Fears 'Mass Killings' in Banja Luka

AU1508181095 Paris AFP in English 1724 GMT 15 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Sarajevo, Aug 15 (AFP)—Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic drafted letters to the UN Security Council and Russian Prime Minister Victor Chernomyrdin asking for them to pressure Bosnian Serbs in northern Bosnia.

In a press conference Tuesday, he said that the government feared the worst in Banja Luka.

"We know that there are some killings there, some people are expelled from their homes and most probably the expulsions of the non-Serbs from the Banja Luka region will continue," he said.

"The problem is the males starting from age 15 are being separated from their families and we are afraid that the scenario of Srebrenica is being repeated. We are afraid of mass killings and mass graves," he said.

About 6,000 people, nearly all of them draft age men, are unaccounted for after an exodus from Srebrenica, a UN safe area in eastern Bosnia taken by Bosnian Serbs on July 11.

Official Views Work of War Crimes Tribunal

AU1608111295 Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 2 Aug 95 p 8

[Interview with Vasvija Vidovic, representative of Bosnia-Herzegovina at the International War Crimes Tribunal in The Hague, by Zekerijah Smajic in Brussels on 29 July: "A Success of Invisible People"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Only extreme optimists believed in the miracle that happened on 25 July 1995 in The Hague. Everybody else believed that the indictments of the first group of death-dealing leaders were impossible to complete, at best, before the end of this year. This tempo was frequently pointed out by certain officials of the International Tribunal because they were swamped with evidence, more than 65,000 pages, revealing many innocent people's bleak destinies, as well as evidence about their torturers. Untypically for the practice of law, instead of a lack of evidence, the tribunal in The Hague shortly after its foundation (UN Security

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Council Resolution 827) is suffering a lack of experts to deal with the stream of evidence pouring in. The chief prosecutor, Richard Goldstone, stated on several occasions that the scope and comprehensiveness of the evidence that was pouring (and is still pouring) into his office are beyond every expectation and that the cooperation between the tribunal and the government in Sarajevo is extraordinary.

Witnesses to Horror

It is known that in wars and other fateful periods in the history of certain peoples and states, a major role was given to and successfully performed by the "invisible" people, for whom, of all awards, recognitions, and achievements, the greatest satisfaction is—the final result. In this case, any observer from Brussels or The Hague can only assume that the greatest credit for the tribunal's being so busy should go the Interior Ministry of Bosnia-Herzegovina, whose experts, despite all blockades, desertions, personnel losses, the physical isolation of the greatest part of the state territory, and so forth, have still managed to assemble convincing evidence about the genocide and crimes, even in those towns, villages, municipalities, and regions that have been under the authority of Pale since the beginning of the war. Among the "wolves" who hear and know everything and experts of the International Tribunal in The Hague, there happened to be a woman, an ostensibly quiet, fragile, and emotional Sarajevan, whose combination of first and family name is quite symbolic and rather confusing to many people. For some people, Vasvija Vidovic is a Muslim misfit, for others she is a planted Serb, and for yet others she is a bad Croat. And she, with a sigh, says: "Even though I have spent so many years as a prosecutor indicting and convicting people for most difficult crimes, the horror and the proportions of the war crimes committed against innocent people disturb the immunity to emotions I have built up over many years, particularly when I see and hear a mother from the Prijedor region whose husband and five sons were killed before her very eyes. I was listening to a girl, not yet 18 years old, who had been constantly raped for two years. I listened to a father whose 12-year-old daughter had been raped, after which her head had been cut off and thrown into his lap. Those are horrors that, regardless of ones profession and professional attitude, leave deep impressions."

Following the most recent indictments against Karadzic, Mladic, and Martic by the International Tribunal for War Crimes in The Hague, Vidovic, an official representative of Bosnia-Herzegovina for contacts with the tribunal, points out in her first interview to OSLOBODJENJE that "the big indictments" are continuous and should not be viewed as final.

[Vidovic] So far, several charges have been brought. The first refers to events in the Vlasenica region and the local detention camp of Susica and has been brought against Dragan Nikolic Yankee; the second refers to events in the Omarska detention camp and has been brought against 21 persons; and the most recent set of charges has been brought against Karadzic and Mladic, they being the persons most responsible for all of the events in the occupied territory and primarily for the genocide against non-Serbian citizens in Bosnia-Herzegovina. In the same set of charges, there are some brought against perpetrators of genocide and crimes in the Keraterm camp near Prijedor, in Bosanski Samac, and Brcko. Several people have been accused of genocidal criminal acts, which means that the Chief Prosecutor's Office has assembled a sufficient number of legally valid bits of evidence, submitted by our state, that a genocide against non-Serbian and Muslim citizens in Bosnia-Herzegovina in the first place has been committed. New indictments also mean that we have submitted enough evidence to the tribunal in The Hague about who are the main architects of genocide, who gave the orders, and who executed the policy of genocide. In the short period of the tribunal's existence, Chief Prosecutor Richard Goldstone and his office have managed to round off an extremely great number of events and process them according to the Rules of Procedure and Evidence Acquisition of the International Tribunal.

Extension of Charges

[Smajic] In addition to the aforementioned indictments, are there any other investigations that are under way?

[Vidovic] Indictments have been completed for the regions where we, as a state, were able to collect as much relevant evidence as possible. As you know, however, the chief prosecutor himself stated many times that all of the current charges remain open, whereas, in the case of Karadzic and Mladic, the extension of charges has already been announced. The extension refers chiefly to the events in Srebrenica and Zepa and, as new evidence of crimes are coming in, also includes other regions in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Investigations have already been started regarding Foca, Bijeljina, Doboj, Mostar, northeastern Bosnia, the region of Vogosca, Posavina, and so forth.

[Smajic] In what phase is the dossier on the Lasva Valley?

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

[Vidovic] The investigation is coming to a close, and one can expect that indictments against those who committed crimes in that area will soon be introduced.

[Smajic] Why has the former chief of the Serbian police, Mico Stanisic, been omitted from the latest indictments?

[Vidovic] At the moment, the evidence against him is incomplete, and, besides, investigations against some other Serbian Democratic Party [SDS] officials are in progress.

[Smajic] What will the further legal procedure be like in the case of Karadzic and Mladic?

[Vidovic] Simultaneously with the announcement of charges, warrants of arrest were issued. The further procedure will unfold in compliance with the arrest warrants. As a representative of Bosnia-Herzegovina, I have been informed about the arrest warrants, which I am supposed to forward to the government in Sarajevo so it can execute the warrants because it is the only legitimate authority and, officially, both Karadzic and Mladic are citizens of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Because of the current circumstances, however, the arrest warrants have been forwarded to both Belgrade and Pale for execution. The next phase in the procedure is to inform the tribunal whether it has been possible to execute the warrants.

[Smajic] What is the deadline for that?

[Vidovic] A reasonable deadline is one month because it is almost certain that, in the current circumstances, the accused will be out of the reach of our police. In that case, we expect that the chief prosecutor will invoke his right, stated in Article 61 of the Rules of Procedure, and demand from the Criminal Council a public representation of evidence on which the indictment is based, including the testimonies of witnesses and without the presence of the accused. If the Council decides that the evidence is legally relevant, it will make a decision on issuing an international arrest warrant. Afterwards, all the international arrest mechanisms will be fully activated.

[Smajic] Which means that Article 61 primarily protects the victims?

[Vidovic] Absolutely! What would happen if war criminals, like in this case, were out of reach? That would mean that legal actions could never be started or completed. Besides, Article 61 of the Rules of Procedure and Acquisition of Evidence makes it possible for evidence on war crimes to be presented in public, which is also significant in dealing with war criminals.

Protection of Wit

[Smajic] What is the key evidence against the perpetrators of genocide and war crimes that has been forwarded to the Chief Prosecutor's Office?

[Vidovic] We have very comprehensive and authentic records, including witnesses' statements, audiotapes and videotapes that were recorded by neutral persons, and particularly videotapes recorded by the Serbian television centers in Pale, Belgrade, Novi Sad, Banja Luka, and Knin.

[Smajic] The witnesses' testimonies are certainly the most delicate. Has Bosnia-Herzegovina been satisfied so far with the protection of witnesses' identities and the degree of their personal security?

[Vidovic] So far, there have been no serious objections. I guess it is probably clear to the possible Serbian persecutors that today, throughout the world and particularly in Europe, there are many mentally and physically mistreated Muslims who would take revenge on them—indeed, several times if necessary—for any possible new crimes against the people who have already been their victims once. Psychologically, it is very important that Bosnia-Herzegovina officially demanded that that tribunal provide protection for its witnesses so that, in The Hague, a particular department for the protection of witnesses has been founded. As far as I know, a considerable amount of money has been allocated for that purpose from the tribunal's budget, and we expect that the level of the witnesses' security will improve even further.

[Smajic] The protection of witnesses of sexual abuse arises as a particular problem.

[Vidovic] The tribunal's requests that, for psychological and safety reasons, those witnesses should not appear before the accused is being reconsidered right now.

[Smajic] The day after the so-called major indictments were brought in, at the Criminal Council in The Hague, the formal objections presented by the defense attorney of accused Dusko Tadic were discussed, which deny the legality of the tribunal, reject the charges against Tadic as unfounded, and so forth. How is such conduct by Tadic's lawyers to be viewed?

[Vidovic] As erstwhile chairman of the Superior Criminal Council, I can confirm that the Tadic case clearly reflects the strategy of the Serbian leaderships regarding the crimes for which they are responsible. The basis of that transparent strategy is the denial of the tribunal's legality. Those are objections that have nothing to do with real charges against Tadic and crimes of which he is accused. In principle, debates on such objections last

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

for a very long time; they are aimed at dragging out the legal proceedings, whereas their primary goal is not to secure legal protection for the accused. By denying the authority of the tribunal, Tadic's lawyers are obviously not concerned about the position of their client because if, by any chance, a decision on the illegality of the tribunal were to be adopted, in Tadic's case that means that the judiciary of Bosnia-Herzegovina would be in charge of it.

[Smajic] In this particular case, what does that mean in legal terms?

[Vidovic] The criminal law of Bosnia-Herzegovina is far stricter than international criminal law, according to which the Tribunal in The Hague is working. For the crimes Tadic is accused of, the death penalty is anticipated by the criminal law of our state, whereas the tribunal in The Hague, in the worst case, could pass a life sentence. It would be interesting to hear Tadic himself, as well as the others who have been indicted, say by which they would prefer to be tried. A particular question, of course, is the invalidity of the objections presented by Tadic's lawyers, whose primary goal is obviously to prevent charges being brought against those who are far more important to the tribunal than Tadic.

Police Arrest 4 Zepa Refugees in Novi Pazar

AU1608085495 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 16 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Rasim Ljajic, secretary general of the Party of Democratic Action [SDA] Sandzak, in a statement to BETA news agency reported that the [word indistinct] of the Serbian Interior Ministry in Novi Pazar arrested four refugees from Zepa, who had fled to Serbia following the Serbian offensive. The arrested men are: Azim [name indistinct], 23; Selim Jugovic, 31; Amir Jugovic, 21; and Ramo Hasanovic, 19. They were taken by 17 policemen from the house of Sefko Alomerovic, president of the Helsinki Human Rights Committee in Sandzak.

Ljajic said that the UNHCR [UN High Commissioner for Refugees], the International Red Cross Committee, and other organizations dealing with the protection of human rights were informed about the whole affair. As the information service of the SDA Sandzak has learned, the Priboj police, too, arrested two refugees from Zepa on 9 August—Samil [name indistinct] and Sabrija Smajic—of whose fate nothing is known for the time being.

According to the International Red Cross Committee, there are 299 men, one woman, and a child in a refugee camp in Luzic. However, it is feared that the number of the refugees on the Serbian territory is far greater, says a statement by the information service of the SDA Sandzak.

Mostar Serbs Complain to EU Administrator

LD1508204095 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1610 GMT 15 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 15 Aug (SRNA)—Slobodan Sinanovic, chairman of the "Aleksa Santic" Association of Mostar Serbs, confirmed today that Hans Koschnick, European Union administrator of Mostar, has spoken with a delegation of the association in Belgrade.

Sinanovic told SRNA that representatives of Mostar Serbs handed a letter to Koschnick at their meeting yesterday, informing him that there are still no proper conditions for the return of Serbs to Mostar.

"We reminded Koschnick that 33,000 Serbs lived in Mostar before the war, that they have the same right to the city as the Croats and Muslims, and that they must have their own part there that would be linked to the [Bosnian] Serb republic," Sinanovic said.

According to him, Koschnick was also informed about the association's standpoint, according to which the resolution of the Serb issue in Mostar cannot be considered in isolation from a comprehensive resolution of the conflict in former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Ljubomir Krzman, chairman of the executive committee of the Association of Mostar Serbs, who also attended the meeting with Koschnick, said that Koschnick did not arrive in Belgrade with a genuine desire to help the Mostar Serbs.

'Massive Ethnic Cleansing' of Banja Luka Stepped Up

AU1508162795 Paris AFP in English 1558 GMT 15 Aug 95

[Report by Diane Bartz: "Massive Ethnic Cleansing Underway in Banja Luka"]

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Sarajevo, Aug 15 (AFP)—A massive ethnic cleansing of Banja Luka picked up steam Tuesday [15 August] with thousands of frightened Croats and Moslems abandoning their homes with all their wordly possessions in bags and suitcases.

"Authorities are putting out the word to all village heads to tell all minorities in their areas to assemble and to prepare to leave," said Mark Cutts of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR).

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

An estimated 500 people carrying all they owned in bags or suitcases had crossed the Sava River into Croatia as of mid- afternoon Tuesday, with at least 500 more waiting to cross, said UNHCR spokesman Kris Janowski in Zagreb.

"Staying is dangerous for them. It's kind of tricky," said Janowski.

The exiles left behind homes and most of their possessions, and Bosnian Serb authorities required the people they were forcing into exile to pay 100 German marks as they departed, Cutts said.

In some cases, people were robbed of already meager savings, said Janowski.

"Many families have already been forcibly evicted from their houses and there are still large queues outside the UNHCR office where people are begging to leave," said Cutts.

At least one family in Banja Luka had been beaten and given medical treatment by a representative of the humanitarian group Medecins sans Frontieres [MSF], said MSF spokeswoman Anita Baars in Zagreb.

"MSF is very worried about the situation," she said, adding that MSF delegates had seen people evicted from their homes.

Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic travelled to Banja Luka Tuesday, where he described the population movement as attempts to reunite families, according to Bosnian Serb Radio Pale.

"The world is trying now to move Moslems and Croats (out of Banja Luka)," he said. "I will not cause columns of refugees.... But if somebody wants to leave and rejoin one's family, that is one's right."

Karadzic has been indicted by the international criminal court on the ex-Yugoslavia at The Hague for genocide and war crimes in connection with earlier ethnic cleansing in northern Bosnia. [passage omitted]

The UNHCR has estimated that up to 15,000 Croats and between 30,000 and 35,000 Moslems remain in the Banja Luka region, which was 55 percent Serb, 15 percent Croat and 15 percent Moslem before the war. About 16 percent of the area's residents described themselves as Yugoslavs before the war.

"The Moslems will be expelled to central Bosnia," Janowski said. "They may be finished with this in 10 or 11 days." [passage omitted]

Deployment of RRF Heavy Artillery Delayed

AU1508180995 Paris AFP in English 1720 GMT 15 Aug 95

[By Dominique Chabrol]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Aug 15 (AFP)—Deployment of the rapid reaction force's [RRF] biggest guns has been delayed by Croat and Bosnian Moslem concerns, including demands for money, and by their unease over the role the force will play here.

The UN peacekeeping forces here are holding talks with the Croat-Moslem Federation, which brings together the mainly Moslem Bosnian government and the Croat forces that control part of southern Bosnia.

UN officials are particularly concerned by the federation's demands for money, and for four days' notice before the force makes a move, said UN peacekeeping spokesman Chris Vernon.

"It's a serious problem because first of all it takes the word 'rapid' out of rapid reaction force," said UN spokesman Alexander Ivanko. "It is becoming annoying, I think to everybody."

"This is probably the most difficult problem we've had with legitimate authorities in Bosnia with regard to our freedom of movement," he added.

General Rupert Smith has held talks with federation authorities in the past, and further meetings between UN and Bosnian officials were set for Tuesday [15 August].

The talks have focused on the heavily armed 24th British air mobile brigade, now stuck at the Croatian port of Ploce. "That is not moving very swiftly," said Vernon.

During a stop in Sarajevo on Monday, French Defense Minister Charles Millon convinced the Bosnian government to accelerate approval for the deployment of eight 155 mm howitzers now stuck in Ploce.

The guns are to be deployed on Mount Igman, the only route into the city, which is otherwise besieged by Serb forces. The Igman road is regularly fired on by Bosnian Serb gunners.

Bosnian Foreign Minister Muhamed Sacirbegovic confirmed that an agreement had been reached to smooth deployment.

Bosnian authorities have been pressing for the role of the reaction force to be defined, fearing the presence of large numbers of dug-in forces in their territory.

Millon said Monday that he had reassured the Bosnians on the force's role.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

"The deployment of the rapid reaction force has been carried out with the agreement of the Bosnian government," he said. "It is not there to intervene in the conflict, to interfere in Bosnian domestic politics or in the actions of Bosnian government forces but to guarantee the security of peacekeepers."

Bosnian distrust of the UN peacekeepers here has meant deteriorating relations between the two, with Sarajevo accusing the international organization of doing nothing to resolve the conflict.

The rapid reaction force was created by France and Britain in June after nearly 400 peacekeepers were taken hostage by Bosnian Serb forces following two NATO airstrikes. Most of the force's heavy artillery—including 105 mm guns and heavy mortars—was deployed on Mount Igman in July.

Sarajevo Radio Carries Fighting Roundup

AU1508153295 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 15 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] We begin our program with the roundup of aggression in our country prepared by Amra Durakovic:

[Begin recording] [Durakovic] Chetnik snipers have killed Omer Kukavica in Gorazde, and there were enemy artillery and flak operations on this section of the free territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Fahrudin Becic reported. Our correspondent adds in his report that the courageous fighters of the 81st Division and the members of the Ministry of Internal Affairs in Gorazde are firmly holding their positions.

In the theater of operations of the 5th Army Corps and the Headquarters of the Croatian Defense Council of the Bihac Region, the joint aggressor was mainly carrying out provocations from small arms and snipers today.

Occasional shelling of civilian targets has been reported along the separation lines and the outskirts of the towns of Bihac, Cazin, and Bosanska Krupa. [passage omitted]

After lifting the blockade from the Una-Sana Canton, life has been returning to normal day by day. Here is a report by Muhamed Mulic:

[Mulic] After four years of a complete blockade, roads have been opened for humanitarian aid, numerous journalists, and our workers coming from abroad. On the territory of the former so-called autonomy of Western Bosnia, which was dissipated by the assault of the 5th Corps, there is an increasingly massive return of the expelled population, particularly following the invitation issued by the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Durakovic] Heavy motor vehicle traffic has been noted along the Posavina corridor, by which aggressor units are being supplied with combat (?needs) from Serbia. These latest data also show that military aid to the Belgrade regime in Pale—that is, the direct involvement of the so-called Yugoslavia in the aggression on our country—has been increasing all the time, according to the announcement of the Press Center of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army.

Performing active defense, units of the Army 3d Corps have destroyed a (?T-34) tank.

Individual international elements, including UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force], have been spreading misinformation about combat operations and troop concentrations and trying to exert negative influence on combat operations on some fronts, thereby bringing themselves into an active military position, as was stated at the end of the Army Press Center announcement.

In the past 24 hours in the theater of operations of the 2d Corps, aggressor shelling was reported on the Gradacac, Ozren-Lukavac, and [name indistinct] fronts. On the Kalesija-Zvornik section of the front during the night, the aggressor operated with howitzer shells from the region of (?Klisa) at Kalesija. Yesterday afternoon, Majevica Chetniks launched a 122-mm projectile on the town of Tuzla from the Jablanica region. There were fortunately no casualties in this aggressor attack. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Karadzic Stresses Need To Obtain Serb State

LD1508175195 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 2155 GMT 14 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka, 14 Aug (SRNA)—What is being defended must be defended. The state of war should not be lifted until peace is established, and some Western powers are now making peace signals, Dr. Radovan Karadzic, president of the [Bosnian] Serb republic, stressed in Banja Luka this evening.

Speaking at an expanded session of the municipal committee of the Serb Democratic Party of the Serb Lands [SDS SZ], the president said that "the conditions are being created for a conference that would adopt a solution" and added:

"By forceful advocation, we will obtain our state because we cannot accept a temporary status. We must have all of the elements of a state.

"For five years now, we have been fighting for our dignity and freedom, despite the blockade by our homeland, Serbia. Our task is to defend the borders of the Serb republic regardless of the numerical strength

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

of the enemy, and our soldiers and officers are prepared for the fight."

Dr. Karadzic stressed that many Muslim offensives against the borders of the Serb republic have failed and that the international community has taken note of the fact that the Muslims and Croats cannot make military progress against the Serbs, and this is the reason they have created the conference.

Commenting on some diplomatic initiatives by the West and on the division of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, the president stressed that the Contact Group plan was designed to destroy the Serbs and to shift the nation toward the eastern parts of the Serb republic and Serbia.

According to him, over 50 percent of the territory of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina will be in the Serb republic, and important political initiatives are expected by the end of this month.

The session of the Banja Luka SDS SZ municipal committee, which was attended by deputies in the People's Assembly, members of the government of the Serb republic, and members of the party's main committee, continued behind closed doors.

Comment on Karadzic's Motives To Replace Mladic

AU1508164995 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 14 Aug 95 p 12

[Commentary by Nenad Kecmanovic: "What Karadzic Failed To Foresee in Clash With Mladic"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "President Ratko Mladic, oh, I am sorry, I meant to say General Mladic...." This was a mistake General Zdravko Tolimir made at the last session of the Serb Republic Assembly. One could think that this was indeed a slip of the tongue or that the security chief of the Serb Republic Army deliberately slipped when his commander was under a sort of parliamentary investigation.

Following Karadzic's accusations against the chief of staff that he was not obeying his president as the supreme commander, chairman Krajisnik concluded that, if Miadic failed to back down in direct talks, he could be tried as a putschist and a traitor, and then, he said, the law is clear on what would happen next. Gen. Tolimir, who together with General Gvero as the political commissar represented the defense, probably wanted to warn with the above slip that a different outcome was also possible—that is, that not only can a president become a general, but also that a general can become a president, and then what follows next is clear.

The Deputies' Decision

It appears that the deputies did not quite understand him because they all, except for the independent deputies' group that abstained, voted unanimously. Their decision was made all the easier by the skillful Momcilo Krajisnik, who suggested that the entire affair be sorted out in a friendly chat between the two undoubtedly most popular Serbs on the other side of the Drina—as if nobody thought for a moment that the reconciliation might not happen and then they would have problems implementing the Ayssembly conclusions.

Karadzic could count in advance on the loyalty from M. Krajisnik, who controls not only the assembly and the ministers but also the party structure, and the infrastructure of the local authorities, since the chairman of the assembly never got on well with the general. He could also count on his charisma, which, if the truth be told, is not seen the same way in the Bosnian Krajina, in eastern Herzegovina, and in the Sarajevo-Romanija region. However, he failed to foresee that Mladic would offer such strong resistance, and he failed to foresee the absolute solidarity from the General Staff, which issued a few statements and let it be known in short military terms that they stand behind their legendary commander. The fact that the president constitutionally has the greatest authority clashed with the fact that the Army in times of war actively holds the strings of power in its hands, and also that this is not a professional army but an armed people's defense, in which every family has at least one representative. Furthermore, the Army enjoys a far greater reputation among the masses than the civilian authorities that have been compromised by black marketeering, and another thing: Mladic is not to Karadzic what Rasim Delic is to Izetbegovic or Bobetko—that is, Cervenko—to Tudjman.

TV as the Strongest Weapon

For all of these reasons, Karadzic turned the other evening to his strongest weapon—one he handles very skillfully, by the way—and addressed the people directly from the TV studio in Pale, assisted clumsily by Plavsic, Koljevic, and Krajisnik. This was followed by another failed attempt at getting Mladic to answer before the General Staff, and reliable information has it that Mladic's condition is to remain in his post and get a public apology from the president. If Karadzic accepts this, his presidential authority will be inevitably damaged. However, if he refuses, there will be parallel authority, in which the Army subsystem will act autonomously and in a superior fashion in line with the decision on the state of war, particularly as Serbia has already sided with Mladic and has been followed by UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force]—as seen from

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

[UNPROFOR spokesman] Ivanko's statement—and by the Greek lawyers who will defend the general in The Hague.

The question arises as to why Karadzic needed such a politically unpopular move, which is also counterproductive as far as the defense is concerned. Was it that someone slipped him disinformation about a putsch, was it his vanity, or was it perhaps that the great master of risks decided that he should not take any more risks? The only cause for this, as far as the public is concerned, was that letter [from Milosevic], but everyone knows that Mladic neither wrote it nor addressed it, nor did he respond to it. Although hungry for fame and stubborn, whenever he was asked to take things into his own hands, he—the story is—always said that, as a professional, he would respect the civilian authorities, whatever they are like, regardless of his personal reservations. Finally, he obviously loves his profession, which has also brought him international acclaim, far too much to exchange the front line for a desk job on the floor above. Even now that he has been challenged to defend himself, he has not launched a political counteroffensive against Pale but has rather stuck to the military one against Grahovo and Glamoc. Finally, the question arises as to what degree this—not only personal—conflict is of any interest to the long convoys of unfortunate refugees from the Serb Republic and the Republic of Serbian Krajina. They are more likely wondering whether the Z-4 and the Contact Group plans were a better solution, and the good news that, "responding to the suggestions by Patriarch Pavle and the wishes of the soldiers and the people," President Karadzic has decided to withdraw his decision, will hardly serve to remove their dilemmas.

Bosnian, Krajina Serb Soldiers Support Mladic

AU1508180795 Belgrade VECERNJE NOVOSTI in Serbo-Croatian 14 Aug 95 p 29

[Report by Z.K.: "Games Against People"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Wounded soldiers from the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] and the Serb Republic, who are being treated in the Rehabilitation Institute in Sokobanja, "Rudo" Center, and in Slankamen, support General Mladic, and oppose his dismissal.

Concerned about what has been happening, the wounded soldiers are insisting that all disagreements, rifts, problems, and conflicts be left for better and happier times.

"We have absolute confidence in the glorious General Mladic and his associates," says Ljubomir Vaskovic, a wounded soldier from Sarajevo, who has been authorized by the others to speak on their behalf. "He has been given full support by 18 generals, and I do not know in whose interest it is to replace the most able soldier in the Serb Republic."

The wounded soldiers and the people in the RSK and the Serb Republic have complete faith in Gen. Mladic. From the beginning of the war in 1991, he has successfully commanded all of the battles and, thanks to his abilities and his excellent military skills as well as his patriotic consciousness, great successes have been attained in the defense of the sacred and centuries-old Serb hearths. The wounded soldiers say that they have full confidence only in him and his military skills. They say that there is an attempt at undermining the defense abilities of the Serb Republic with his dismissal, while no one is speaking about the real reasons behind Mladic's replacement.

The wounded soldiers at the same time call on all able-bodied men to return to their units and place themselves under the unified command of Gen. Mladic.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

UN: Army Massing Troops in Dubrovnik Area

AU1608121895 Paris AFP in English 1151 GMT 16 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Aug 16 (AFP)—Croatian troops are massing for a possible incursion into southern Bosnia-Herzegovina to push back Bosnian Serb forces which have been shelling the southwest Croatian town of Dubrovnik, UN officials said Wednesday.

Two elite, battle-hardened Croatian army brigades had moved into the region by Wednesday, according to UN military sources in Zagreb, increasing fears that Zagreb may be about to launch a full-scale offensive on Serbs shelling the city from positions in southern Herzegovina 30 kilometres (20 miles) away.

"There seems to be be movements of Croatian troops in that direction," UN special envoy to former Yugoslavia Yasushi Akashi said.

"We have seen 100 trucks moving from (the) Ploce area to Dubrovnik, so we may except some intensification of fighting there."

The envoy's statement came a day after the head of the Croatian Army, General Zvonimir Cervenko, threatened the Serbs with reprisals if their fierce weekend shelling of the town and its surroundings continued.

"If the bombardment against the Dubrovnik region continues, we will make sure that they stop," Cervenko said late Tuesday, adding that the defence of the town would involve "offensive activities."

UN military sources said Zagreb had moved the 1,500-strong 4th Brigade down to Dubrovnik from Split 220 kilometres (140 miles) further north, to reinforce the 7th Brigade already in the region.

An artillery regiment and two special units were also deployed in the region, the UN sources said.

In Sarajevo, UN spokesman Chris Vernon confirmed the deployment of a "considerable concentration of troops and equipment."

"The HV (Croatian Army) is concentrating troops and equipment in the Dubrovnik area for what is assessed as a possible offensive on Trebinje to push Bosnian Serb army artillery units out of range of Dubrovnik."

But he added the build-up was smaller than the large-scale deployment which preceded Zagreb's sweeping offensive into the formerly Serb-held Krajina region August 4.

Bosnian Serb forces pounded Dubrovnik and the outlying region over the weekend and into Monday in the heaviest bombardment the town has seen since it was under siege in 1991. On Saturday alone, more than 100 shells were fired into the region around Dubrovnik.

Sixteen people were injured in the prolonged attack and numerous fires were triggered as shells pounded the hills around the town.

Cervenko said the Serb attack, launched from Trebinje across the border in southern Bosnia-Herzegovina, was a reprisal for heavy military defeats sustained by the Bosnian Serbs in western Bosnia in recent weeks.

Dubrovnik is the only town on the Dalmatian coast that has not been safeguarded against Serb artillery attacks after Croatian troops move into Krajina.

Before the war started in 1991, the town was a popular tourist spot, and Zagreb is keen to reinstate it as such to attract foreign visitors—and much-needed currency—once again.

Tourism is still Croatia's number one foreign currency earner.

As the Croatian troops massed, locals in Trebinje were leaving the region following an appeal by the mayor of the town.

But signs that tension may in fact be easing in the region were indicated Wednesday with the end of a general alert in Dubrovnik town.

Inhabitants of the town were nonetheless urged to be cautious, and the alert remained in force in outlying regions.

Army Chief on Defense, Offensive Operations

LD1508164895 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 15 Aug 95

[Passages within quotation marks are recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] The eastern Herzegovina Serbs are continuing to shell houses and businesses in the general area of Dubrovnik. A general danger alert is still in force in all places from Slano [northwest of Dubrovnik] to Konavli [southeast of Dubrovnik], including Dubrovnik. General Zvonimir Cervenko, chief of the Croatian Army Corps General Staff, gave a news conference in this town today. To start with, here is a report by Adrijana Tomasic:

[Tomasic] To a question by a London GUARDIAN journalist, as to whether, if the shelling were to continue and if it turned out to be necessary to create some kind of cordon sanitaire, this would mean that the Croatian Army could go as far as Trebinje, and whether Sarajevo,

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

or rather the Bosnian federation, would consent to this if this happened, General Cervenko said:

[Cervenko] "As a soldier I can say that we will evaluate what needs to be done and that, at a time specified by us, we will do what needs to be done."

[Tomasic] A German SAT-1 TV correspondent asked what conditions must be created for a decision to be taken regarding our defensive operations, which would mean that they also included offensive actions.

[Cervenko] "If you cannot defend, or have difficulties in defending—and I repeat, this is a legitimate defense—and this enemy behaves in the way he is behaving, if it uses an army from another state, then defensive operations quite certainly include offensive operations."

[Tomasic] General Cervenko also sent a message to the people of the Dubrovnik region:

[Cervenko] "I have travelled over a large part of the front, and I am convinced that the people of Dubrovnik and Konavli can be completely at ease. If the enemy continues to shell and use long-range artillery, we will take very rapid action to dissuade them from carrying out their intentions."

[Tomasic] On this occasion, too, we remind people in the general area of Dubrovnik and in Dubrovnik itself to take extreme care and remain in their shelters.

Diplomat Hints at War With Serbs Over Slavonia

BR1608082295 Madrid ABC in Spanish 12 Aug 95 p 26

[Interview with Ambassador to Spain Sergej Morsan by Cristina Lopez Schlichting in Madrid; date not given: "We Have Created an Army With Western Principles and U.S. Assistance"

[FBIS Translated Text] *Madrid—At the Croatian Embassy in Madrid there is an atmosphere of triumph. Sergej Morsan, who has represented his country in Spain for two years, does not conceal his satisfaction in stating that the military recovery of Krajina "was a just cause, patiently negotiated without results for four years, which only restores to Croatia its internationally recognized borders." I asked him if we could analyze the reasons for this victory.*

[Lopez] How do you explain the Croatian troops' extremely rapid advance?

[Morsan] There were several reasons. In the first place, the civilian population, after four years of poverty and difficulties, no longer believed in the future of this Serb Krajina; as a result they did not wholeheartedly support the rebels. The second reason was that civilians and military personnel were gripped with panic as soon as the Geneva negotiations failed: Our military situation and morale were known to be good. The third reason is our troops' excellent logistic situation—the difference between a Western army and the Serb resistance's partisan principles. Finally, the fourth reason is that, following the simultaneous attack against 34 Serb positions along the line of battle, the Serb command ordered the mass exodus of the civilian population, and we facilitated the evacuation through two corridors. As a result, on the second day we advanced very rapidly through the territories which we found now empty.

[Lopez] You are accused of maltreating the civilians...

[Morsan] The problem is that the Serb military and civilian population had mingled. That is why, for instance, the Bosnian Serbs ordered that the convoys be attacked in order to prevent desertions in their ranks, but [Croat] President Tudjman expressly ordered that care be taken with the treatment of the Blue Helmets and civilians. For instance, it is not true that we used the Canadian Blue Helmets as human shields; although, of course, a war is a war, and the consequences are unavoidable, and we greatly regret this.

[Lopez] Did your army have Western logistic support of the kind given by U.S. General Galvin to the Muslim and Croat troops in Bosnia?

[Morsan] After communist Yugoslavia, we had to change the military system, the police, and the domestic security system completely. Of course, in the process of rebuilding this apparatus, we have introduced Western principles and had the logistic assistance of retired U.S. generals, albeit on a personal basis, without direct official involvement.

[Lopez] Britain and Russia are calling for international sanctions against Croatia.

[Morsan] Such a resolution would be a disgrace for the international community, because we have only exercised a right. For four years we endured our national territory being occupied, we constantly negotiated without any result, and we finally acted at the right time in order to prevent the enclave of Bihac in northwestern Bosnia from falling, following the events in Srebrenica.

[Lopez] Do you acknowledge the authenticity of the map attributed by THE TIMES to Franjo Tudjman, in which Bosnia was "partitioned" with Serbia?

[Morsan] Yes, except for some notes, but this map referred to a hypothetical future situation. There is no such partition. It was published at the very point when our initiative in Krajina was succeeding. Whom could the severing of Croatian-Bosnian relations help? Croatia

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

was the first state to recognize Bosnia, and the plan for a Croatian-Bosnian federation is strong. Make no mistake: There is no plan for a "Greater Croatia." Now a state is great, not because of its size, but because of its intellectual and organizational level: It is on this level that we wish to compete.

[Lopez] What solution do you see for the Serb occupation of Western Slavonia?

[Morsan] Slavonia and Baranja are internationally recognized Croatian territories, and we must recover them. There are two possibilities: Either to negotiate a peaceful integration or, if this does not work, have recourse to other measures...

[Lopez] It would be war with Serbia...

[Morsan] Who knows?

Autonomy for Slavonia

[Lopez] Do you have any indications that [Serb President] Milosevic would accept the recovery of Slavonia?

[Morsan] I believe that Milosevic knows very well that the Croats are not going to change their decisions in this respect. Extensive autonomy could, of course, be established for those territories, as will also happen in the areas of Knin or Glina in Krajina, which would make possible close relations with Serbia.

[Lopez] When that autonomy comes, perhaps there will be no Serbs left either in Knin or in Glina...

[Morsan] There will be few, yes, and we regret it, but the Serb military ordered the civilians' departure. However, we have reports of people who are returning from hiding in the woods, and other people who are asking in Belgrade how to return. And we hope that they will do so. Our desire is not to live in an area without a Serb population but in a land free from terrorists and rebels.

The difference is clear: The Serbs left with cars, tractors, and suitcases; the Croats were forced to leave without anything in their day, and their houses—the Serbs'—await them, while those of the Croats, their churches, and their cemeteries have been destroyed. We are not going to deny certain Croat acts of retaliation: After four years of terror, people cannot restrain themselves, but there will be measures against those who attacked the Serb refugees or maltreated them.

Granic: Plan Must Account for 'Changed' Situation

AU1608100295 Munich FOCUS in German 14 Aug 95 pp 196-197

[Interview with Foreign Minister Mate Granic by an unidentified correspondent; place and date not given: "The Situation Has Changed"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [FOCUS] After western Slavonia and Krajina, will Croatia try to regain eastern Slavonia, which is occupied by Serbs, militarily?

[Granic] Our government continues to bank on negotiations. With the help of the international community, we hope that we will peacefully reintegrate the occupied territory within our state. However, if a diplomatic settlement were to fail, we will reserve the right to a military option, in accordance with the UN Charter.

[FOCUS] Is there an agreement between Croatia and Serbia on Bosnia's division?

[Granic] No. Serbia is the aggressor in Croatia and Bosnia. Milosevic is still supporting the Serbs in Bosnia and Croatia militarily.

[FOCUS] The community of states accuses you of warmongering. Why did you bring Krajina under your control?

[Granic] There were three reasons for it: First, the failure of a four-year process of negotiations. Second, the failure of the United Nations, which is supposed to reestablish Croatia's territorial integrity. Instead of devoting himself to this task, however, EU mediator Carl Bildt offered Belgrade the lifting of sanctions in exchange for Bosnia's recognition, without involving Croatia. And third, Bihac's seizure would have resulted in the massacre and expulsion of the population.

[FOCUS] In your opinion, is the Contact Group plan still valid?

[Granic] Bosnia and we have accepted the plan. However, the circumstances are no longer the same because the situation has changed in the meantime. Future proposals of the Contact Group will have to account for the situation on the ground.

[FOCUS] During your visit to Washington, were you given the green light for your offensive in Krajina?

[Granic] No. The operations for the reintegration of the territories in Croatia occupied by the Serbs were already planned for December 1994. However, at that time, the members of the Security Council and the UN leadership put pressure on us. This time, we briefed the Americans, Germans, Britons, Russians, and the United Nations on our intention only a few hours in advance.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

[FOCUS] Your government understood the EU mediator's criticism of the offensive as an insult. How do you see his peace efforts?

[Granic] Bildt is history for us.

[FOCUS] What is the United Nations' future role in Croatia?

[Granic] We will redefine the UN mandate. If it wants to fulfill its mission in eastern Slavonia—the reestablishment of Croatia's territorial integrity—it can stay here. Otherwise, the United Nations is to withdraw.

Canadian Peacekeepers Prepare To Return Home

LD1608140495 Montreal Radio Canada International in English 1330 GMT 16 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] The nearly 1,000 Canadian peacekeepers in Croatia may soon be on their way home. Canadian Defense Minister David Collenette says the soldiers will return to Canada as soon as the United Nations gives the order to disband peacekeeping operations in Croatia. The Canadians have begun dismantling observation posts in the breakaway Serb region of Krajina; it was recaptured by the Croatian army last week.

David Mackay has more on the story:

[Mackay] Defense Minister David Collenette expects that to happen this week. Then, he says, the government will bring Canadian peacekeepers in the region back to Canada. Before Collenette's announcement there had been some speculation that the peacekeepers in Croatia would continue their mission in Bosnia. Collenette say that won't happen.

[Begin Collenette recording] Certainly the 780, I think it is, that are actually in the Krajina now as part of the mission, will come home and we would be able to start bringing them back within a week or two after the United Nations decides and gets them all out by some time in late September, early October. [end recording]

[Mackay] [Passage omitted] As for peacekeepers in Bosnia, the foreign affairs minister says they'll stay there until their mandate finishes at the end of October.

Serb Negotiator Sought for East Slavonia Talks

AU1608120095 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 16 Aug 95 p 4

[Article by B. Vrbosic: "Serbs Seeking Negotiator"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Osijek—Who represents the rebel Serbs in Baranja and Eastern Slavonia today? Is there a man with whom one could negotiate authoritatively about the future of this region? Branimir Glavas, coordinator for liaison with UNCRO [UN Confidence Restoration Operation in Croatia] in the former Sector East, demanded answers to these questions from Jesudas Bell, UNCRO coordinator for political and humanitarian activities. Yesterday however, he failed to obtain them. To be precise, it was confirmed yesterday that, after the fall of "the Knin regime," chaos broke out among the rebels in the occupied territories of eastern Croatia.

The UNCRO representative admits that the contacts exist with former Minister Milan Milanovic and the majors of Vukovar, Beli Manastir, and Tenja. He also admits, however, that there is no chief representative of the rebel Serbs, with the exception of Yugoslav General Dusan Loncar, who decides on military issues.

"The question of the Serbs' chief representative is connected to the manner in which the problems in this area are being resolved. They are interested in negotiations and are in the process of finding representatives for the talks. These representatives will not be the people whom we contact daily, however. There is the question of the role of the Knin representatives who are currently in Bosnia," Bell said.

In light of all this, Branimir Glavas recommended to the rebel Serbs that Professor Branko Petrovic—a former professor at the Electro-Technical Faculty in Osijek, Mikelic's "minister" and a man untarnished by crimes—be their chief negotiator. "It is in the interests of the Serbian side to find a negotiator, because talks with criminals of Hadzic's or Niksic's format will yield no results," Glavas said. He also instructed Bell to tell the Serbs that Croatia will use the coming time for diplomatic initiatives and an attempt at a peaceful reintegration of the 4.5 percent of the occupied territories.

"In the next few days, Croatia will refrain from any offensive actions, and the Serbs should think hard where their rebellion and the shelling of towns is leading. They should finally realize that there will be no parastatelet in Croatia, and I believe I do not need to repeat what awaits them if diplomacy fails to work. There is still time for talks. If they continue with their terrorism, Milosevic's slogan 'all the Serbs in one state' will materialize—however, not all the Serbs in the Greater Serbia, but in the so-called FRY. If they intend to stay on the territory of Slavonia and Baranja once the Croatian Army has entered it, they should immediately stop shelling Osijek, Vinkovci, and other towns," Glavas's message read.

Despite pretty words, yesterday's meeting nevertheless reconfirmed that the UNCRO representatives are unable to achieve any serious progress. Namely, for over two months, they have been unable to organize an exchange of the three detained UNIKOM [public hygiene service] workers for a Serb from Bobota. Can they seriously

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

supervise the border between Croatia and the so-called FRY or be a responsible intermediary in the talks?

Abdic Supporters Said in 'Miserable' Conditions

AU1508181495 Paris AFP in English 1751 GMT 15 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Aug 15 (AFP)—The predicament of 30,000 followers of the renegade Bosnian Moslem leader Fikret Abdic who have refused to return from Croatia to their homes in Bosnia has turned critical, the Red Cross warned Tuesday [15 August].

An International Committee for the Red Cross (ICRC) medical team visited the group in Vojnic, south of Zagreb, on Monday. The refugees fled Abdic's former stronghold, Velika Kladusa, during the Croatian offensive against Krajina earlier this month. They fear reprisals for having sided with the Moslem rebel leader if they return to Bosnia.

The 30,000 people have no drinking water and lack basic hygiene facilities, which is increasing the risk of disease, the ICRC said. "Already around half of the people being treated in a health post at the camp are suffering from diarrhoea," the ICRC said in a statement released in the Croatian capital.

"People are living in cars or trucks, or they have made wooden shelters," ICRC official Marco Weil said. "The conditions are miserable and our main priority is to improve sanitary conditions and to set up manned health clinics as soon as possible."

Last week the authorities in Zagreb refused permission for UN special envoy Yasushi Akashi to visit the refugees.

Although an agreement on the return of Abdic's supporters was signed last weeek between Croatia and Bosnia, the refugees themselves have made it clear that they will only comply if Abdic himself asks them to.

Abdic, who controlled the north of the Bihac pocket until the Croatian offensive, is currently being held under house arrest in Zagreb.

TANJUG Commentary Criticizes Krajina Leaders

LD1508211295 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2056 GMT 15 Aug 95

[By TANJUG's diplomatic editor Zoran Jevdjovic]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Aug 15 (TANJUG)—The war in former Yugoslavia is at a point where the key actors must finally decide whether or not they want peace.

Columns of refugees, the suffering of the Serbs and the cynical reaction of Croatia's patrons to the genocide of the Serbs and the "ethnic cleansing" of their territories conducted by the Croatian Army demand an answer to the question of who is responsible.

The moral defeat is more disturbing than the military, all the more so because there was no military defeat in the true sense of the word. What happened was a well-organised and speedily executed withdrawal before the enemy.

Serb Krajina President Milan Martic said on the first day of the Croatian attack that he did not believe the Croats could actually take the Serb Krajina capital Knin, although they were very close.

It would seem that Martic was not aware of the true situation.

If he had in fact known that Serb Krajina could not hold out for more than two days, and having been made aware beforehand of the international political situation and the capabilities of Yugoslavia, it is not clear why he had not agreed to talks earlier.

By rejecting peace offers, the Serb Krajina leadership had to be aware of the burden of responsibility it was taking on, especially as Martic went to the Bosnian Serb republic to show solidarity with its leadership when it rejected the "Contact Group" plan for Bosnia.

Croatia's invasion of Serb Krajina's western Slavonia region in early May was followed by vows from Knin and the Bosnian serb centre of Pale that they would unite into a single state, of course with common defence.

However, at the time of the invasion of western Slavonia, Pale sent a message that it would not be interfering. There was no adequate defence even of towns in the Bosnian Serb republic, such as Grahovo and Glamoc, which were crucial to the defence of Knin.

The easiest thing to do in the circumstanecs was to accuse Belgrade, but it remains to be seen if that will be enough of an explanation for their own people, once passions have cooled.

Will the much-suffering people, now in exile, one day soon ask the question: Why did the Serb Krajina leadership not accept peace when there was time, if it could not last out the war.

The Serb Krajina leadership will have to answer why and on whose advice it decided to move hundreds of thousands of people on to Serbia.

All those who were eager to point the finger at Belgrade should be asked what interest Serbia could have in

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

acquiring a further 200,000 refugees in addition to the nearly half a million ones already in its territory whom it has a hard time supporting.

The answer lies in the concept formulated at Pale and upheld in Knin.

The reasoning behind the concept was simple: The Yugoslav Federation of Serbia and Montenegro should be drawn into the conflict.

This, they reasoned, would be the only way to attain unrealistic ambitions, camouflage their own mistakes and avoid responsibility for the errors of judgement of the leadership.

What drawing Yugoslavia into the conflict at a time when the interests of the world centres of power lie with the other side would mean for the Serbian people appears not to have been considered at Pale and Knin.

In Belgrade, however, this has to be taken into consideration. The way out of the four years of war in which the Serbian people have given much in their heroic struggle for their rights cannot lie in immoderate measures and in risking all.

The situation in which Yugoslavia finds itself shows clearly that the peace process and support for the peace efforts of the international community are the only sure way out.

DA Leader Criticizes Tudjman, HDZ

95BA0311A Split FERAL TRIBUNE in Serbo-Croatian 10 Jul 95 pp 4-5

[Interview with DA leader Mira Ljubic-Lorger by Heni Erceg; place and date not given: "The Opposition Is Waiting for Hitler"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Erceg] There has been a great deal of talk recently about a new election law raising the bar for entering the Croatian Assembly. What might be the consequences of such an election law?

[Ljubic-Lorger] Perhaps it is best to begin the answer by explaining why the incumbent party and its president want to have only two or three opposition parties in the Assembly. That, in other words, is what they intend to gain with that election law. It is above all a question of Tudjman's increasing and devastating fear of losing power, and that is a fear that is becoming dangerous both to the state and to the people. I should emphasize that this is a real fear. In the situation when Milosevic's aggressive fascism was a threat, a majority of the citizens, having decided that they no longer wished to live in such a state, that is, the former Yugoslavia, and having created the Croatian state, tended toward something that was the exact opposite of Milosevic's state. The citizens who opted for Croatia had in mind a democratic European state embodying social justice in which human rights, independent courts, media, and so on would be respected. In short, they voted with the best intentions, and they did not expect to be living in insupportable Tudjmanland.

Democratic Guerrilla Warfare

[Erceg] Do you really believe that a majority of the citizens of Croatia today have that awareness of the state in which they live?

[Ljubic-Lorger] They are slowly coming to see that the initial ideas of the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Union] were actually to create an expanded, ethnically pure, and feudal Croatia. This is not just an incredible deception, but something that is simply unrealistic and ridiculous in Europe on the threshold of the 21st century. It is logical to expect that the citizens who gave everything they could give for a democratic Croatia will not allow themselves to be deceived very much longer by a handful of tricksters.

[Erceg] Meanwhile, you speak of Tudjman's fear, but what exactly is he afraid of? Surely, not the opposition parties?

[Ljubic-Lorger] It is evident to everyone that the mood of the public is increasingly critical of the incumbent party, that the processes that tend toward democracy are unstoppable, that the regional movement in Croatia cannot be halted, that there are an increasing number of groups advocating human rights, that the public simply no longer wants to watch the broadcasting of HRT [Croatian Radio-Television], which has become the mouthpiece of the HDZ. It is quite clear that the incumbent party will do everything so that the election results do not reflect the mood of the public. So, we should expect that the election law and the election itself will be marked by a frantic fear on the part of the incumbent party. Moreover, we should not forget that the president of the state is a man in his advanced years, that he is having an ever harder time getting his bearings in the civil dissatisfaction that is being expressed in the ever growing and ever more influential number of groups that do not submit to control and that are operating more and more on the principles of a kind of democratic guerrilla warfare. It is logical, then, for him to want to have two or three large opposition parties—and nothing more!—that he then could control, blackmail, buy off, and manipulate much more easily.

[Erceg] Does that smack of something like the former League of Communists?

[Ljubic-Lorger] We should not forget the HDZ's nostalgia for the one-party system and satellite organizations

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

that represent no danger. In that kind of division, the HDZ would take the place of the former "vanguard" of some large party with undefined objectives, like the Socialist Alliance; Mercep's organization would be like SUBNOR [Federation of Associations of Veterans of the National Liberation War]; and Schwartz and Bujanec would be like the members of SKOJ [Communist Youth Alliance of Yugoslavia].

[Erceg] What is the opposition up to at this moment? I get the impression that it does not even want the election.

[Ljubic-Lorger] If you are referring to the large parliamentary parties, then that impression is really not far from the truth. After all, objectively, the opposition can take power from the HDZ only if it wants to, and it could do so by going into the election united. It is obvious that that opposition simply does not want anything like that.

Susak and the Fascists

[Erceg] But still it could at least try to provide more effective democratic oversight and a be corrective to the government.

[Ljubic-Lorger] Of course, but it does not want even that. Just remember that only Dalmatian Action [DA], the Istrian Democratic Conference [IDS], and the Action of Croatian Social Democrats reacted to the public burning of FERAL, which is by no means a harmless incident. And no one else!

[Erceg] It seems that the bar is being raised for entering the election, but on the other hand the threshold for opposing violence is dropping.

[Ljubic-Lorger] I think one reason is that the opposition is mainly a passive and amorphous mass with an unclear program, so that no one really knows what it actually wants, so that by the principle of free association their confused rank and file and even the public interpret their program any way that suits them. A deeper analysis, on the other hand, might show that we are actually looking at the conservative right, which is waiting for Hitler to do its dirty business for it.

[Erceg] Exactly to whom are you referring?

[Ljubic-Lorger] Well, the Liberals, for example, have altogether forgotten what Hitler did with those who helped him and tacitly or actively supported him. Certainly, there is another interesting aspect. Some in the opposition perhaps deem it useful to have Croatia shamed in this way before the world and the public, to show itself to be undemocratic, and so on. This is that old Bolshevik reflection "The worse it is, the better it is." And that is really utter insanity, because an atmosphere of fear is no foundation for creating the institutions of a democratic system.

[Erceg] Do you think that the fear today is greater than before?

[Ljubic-Lorger] To judge by the activities of those groups that come under the broader definition of the opposition, then the fear is going away. We who do not want and will not allow ourselves to be driven out of Croatia have no other way out than to try to make our state a decent place in which to live. But, at the same time, one should not underestimate the consequences of the public manifestation of totalitarian and fascist tendencies. You see, I personally do not see anything at all interesting or particularly important in someone publicly showing himself to be a fascist and using fascist symbols, like Minister Susak, for example. In every democratic state there are fascists, so why should we not have them as well? But, by contrast with many, I do not think that this has anything to do with relishing something that the democratic world defeated in World War II. This is our present-day fascism, with a very up-to-date and current objective of intimidating the public. That really should not be underestimated. Nor, of course, overestimated, because I do not think that the citizens of Croatia have ever shown themselves to be such cowards as to be frightened by a pack of fools. The citizens who had the courage to fight Milosevic will hardly allow themselves to be impressed very long by the little group that today is hindering us from creating a democratic Croatia.

Krpina, the Bogeyman

[Erceg] There is also talk that the new election law will be drafted so that the regional parties "drop out" of the Assembly, above all the IDS, which is "the most awkward" for the incumbent party, because it is the prevailing party in one region.

[Ljubic-Lorger] It is understandable that the incumbent party should be bothered that it cannot make inroads in Istria and take control there, because it is precisely from the model of Istria that one can construct and prove the effectiveness of a different model of administration. Clearly, if under the new election law the IDS could not be in the Croatian Assembly, there would not be any representatives of Dalmatian Action either. Nor, we say, would there be representation of the authentic interests of Dalmatia, and a democratic election would show how many citizens of Dalmatia support us. In any case, we will see to it that the citizens of Dalmatia learn what percentage of them support us. If, then, there are no regional parties in the Assembly, then that will, above all, be a problem of Croatia and of its president,

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

because it is better for Croatia that we be in the Croatian Assembly. Our part is to wait for the move of the incumbent party, and then we will determine what it is up to us to do.

[Erceg] What is happening to Dalmatia today? What is the basis of your assessments of its utter devastation?

[Ljubic-Lorger] Judge for yourself the accuracy of our assessments just on the basis of some figures. Never in the past was Dalmatia very lucky with its economy, because it depended too much on just one industry, tourism. Now, there is no longer any tourism in Dalmatia, partly because of the war, partly because the elementary infrastructure does not exist, such as the Adriatic Highway, for example. Which, nota bene, was not even included in the construction plan. But aside from tourism, we also had the possibility of developing a specific Mediterranean agriculture in the valley of the Neretva, in the flatlands of the Dalmatian Zagora, on the islands. Not only is no one giving incentives to our farmers, granting them credits, tax breaks, and the like, they are not even purchasing their products and are leaving them to the so-called Green Mafia, but even what could be saved is being allowed to go to ruin. Because of the exceedingly expensive electricity we get from the HEP [Croatian Electric Power Industry], the factories for light metals are shutting down. Because the state does not want to grant credits to shipbuilding, which all the states in the world that have a shipbuilding industry are doing—that is also going to ruin. The social consequences are, of course, a real disaster. People are hungry in Dalmatia today. The present government has no social welfare program to cope with the hungry population and the ruination of the economy. I join in the statement of one of the vice presidents of the DA that this government will be remembered in Dalmatia as a colonial government, something like the British Government in India.

[Erceg] You have been in Western Slavonia several times. You said that you wanted to learn something, something that perhaps might be useful when reintegration of Knin and the other parts of Dalmatia occurs. So, what are your impressions?

[Ljubic-Lorger] First of all, how important it is to have a ready, effective, and rapid plan for reintegration so that we can reintegrate the people as well, not just the territory—which unfortunately is what happened in Western Slavonia. Also, how important it is who it is that communicates with the people who have had their fill of Martic and Babic and this war. This certainly cannot be people like Krpina, who has identified himself with statements about a "bullet in the back of the head." Incidentally, Krpina himself supposedly made a statement that he did not go to Western Slavonia immediately so as not to frighten the Serbs there.

Colonial Dalmatia

[Erceg] You often protest the penetration of Herzegovinian capital into Dalmatia. Why does the "investment" of Herzegovinian money in Dalmatia bother you?

[Ljubic-Lorger] I am no longer certain that we are really talking about any capital at all, for ever since the case of the "purchase" of SLOBODNA DALMACIJA we have seen that enterprises are being given away, not purchased. And all the newspapers are full of "sensational" examples of enterprises being "purchased" with someone else's money or even without any money at all. It seems to be a question of a very unusual Herzegovinian-Zagreb centralistic mafia that was created so that the group enthroned in Zagreb first thinks up for which of its political objectives it could use Herzegovinian capital, and then it turns out that Herzegovinian capital is determining its policy. I say "unusual" because I am beginning to wonder whose capital it is, where it came from, if it exists at all. I am more and more inclined to the assessment that at the outset there was no capital at all, but it has been flowing out into Herzegovina, and then coming back into Croatia again. And when I say "Herzegovinian-Zagreb," I am referring to the regions where that group is enthroned, simply not wanting to insult the majority of honest citizens of Zagreb, or the Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina. We in Dalmatian Action, that is, are not inclined to generalizations nor enmity toward other regions. We would, of course, only like to be equal, not colonized.

[Erceg] Do the regional parties really want to create states within a state, which is what the HDZ accuses you of?

[Ljubic-Lorger] It is not just the incumbent party that is doing that. We recently read in the newspapers about the geostrategic predictions of the State Department concerning the creation of new states in Europe in the 21st century, where it mentions the emergence of the state of New Dalmatia. I think that this is the nightmare of our president. We, however, are not interested in that kind of insanity of creating states—we simply want a democratic Dalmatia in a democratic environment.

[Box, p 4]

Congress of Dalmatians

[Erceg] You have been announcing an upcoming meeting of emigre and domestic Dalmatia. In that context, what is your comment on Tudjman's statements during visits to Australia and New Zealand that the Croats

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

from Dalmatia are lagging behind in acceptance of the idea of creating a state? Also, is not this gathering of Dalmatians an imitation of the Congress of Istrians?

[Ljubic-Lorger] There have been quite a few demands from the diaspora to hold a meeting of representatives of emigre and homeland Dalmatia, and we will examine this in the party. This would only, to some extent, resemble the gathering of Istrians, because, from what we have learned so far, the Dalmatians are more anxious to talk about how to help Croatia and about where we went wrong as the parents of Croatia, how did we produce this offspring? So, they want to hold something like a parents' meeting. It is clear, then, that I am not interested in the statements of the president of the state concerning the Dalmatians who are tardy in any respect. It is actually the reverse, because we in Dalmatia are profoundly interested in the state that has emerged precisely in Dalmatia, and we are profoundly concerned about what an irresponsible small group has made from it. But I understand the nervousness that the ruling circles have been showing in connection with the diaspora, because it is increasingly obvious that the HDZ no longer has its support. That was, in fact, evident in the recent meeting that we had with representatives of our emigres from the European countries.

[Box, p 5]

Love or Sex

[Erceg] How do you interpret statements that there could be a coalition between the HDZ and the SDP [Social Democratic Party], about which Vladimir Seks was talking the other day?

[Ljubic-Lorger] The courting taking place between Seks and Racan, which is now even public, is comical to me, and everything that occurs to me in that connection is something with which I hope we are not dealing, but is well known from history, namely national socialism. But this is, in any case, a problem that must be reflected on first of all by those who were still thinking of voting for the SDP. The rest of us need not be concerned, because in Croatia the organized democratic parties and groups represent at least 30 percent, which means that we have every bit of the strength of that possible coalition.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Defense Minister Comments on Regional Crisis

AU1508122295 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 12 Aug 95 p 2

[Article by Zoran Petrov: "UNPREDEP Mandate in Macedonia Will Have To Be Reexamined"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The latest offensive of the Croatian forces in Knin Krajina and the taking over of this territory in a relatively short period of time opened a range of dangers, not only as regards the territories of Bosnia-Herzegovina, but also the whole region in general. The big wave of refugees who are coming to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY], the divisions within the leadership of the Bosnian Serbs, the Croatian euphoria, and the announced campaign for the liberation of eastern Slavonia, as well as the constant possibility of a direct involvement of the FRY Army in the conflict, create an uncertain situation with potential repercussions throughout the Balkans. Logically, the Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], a region that is objectively inclined to the warring region, is once again gaining strategic importance.

On the other hand, due to certain development of events, there is always the possibility for the reactivation of the so-called southern front, unanimously indicated by all military analysts as something that could spread war throughout the whole Balkan peninsula, and probably at large. In reference to this we asked Blagoj Handziski, the Defense Minister of the Republic of Macedonia, to give his observations. The first man of Macedonia's defense in relation to the military and strategic aspect here expresses his views and stances on the possible repercussions for Macedonia of the latest events in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Expected Croat Attack

According to Minister Handziski, the latest events in the former Yugoslav territories had their genesis at the beginning of the 1990s. The latest activities point to a system that has existed throughout the Yugoslav crisis, which was probably initiated at the Milosevic-Tudjman meeting in Karadjordjevo. The Croatian Army's actions in the Republic of Serbian Krajina have many elements that are a part of the agreement that was reached about three and a half years ago in Karadjordjevo, in Handziski's opinion.

First, it is a fact that, regardless of the embargo and of the economic crisis in Croatia, that country succeeded in mobilizing a large number of military forces, around 105,000 soldiers, also helped by the forces of the Croatian police. Lately, Croatia has substantially changed its military power as far as organization is concerned, as well as the equipment of technical military means. In due time the balance of Croat and Serbian forces in Knin Krajina was more and more in favor of the former, so that lately this balance was two and a half against one. Throughout the period it was totally clear that it was impossible for Croatia not to govern the Knin Krajina territory. That is why solutions were sought for its reintegration within the international borders of Croatia. "As we know," the minister pointed out, "the solutions were very extreme. Some asked for a total separation of the Knin Serbs, up to the establishment of full political autonomy, which was in the context of the Contact Group, which envisaged an establishment of a ministate."

"I think in that period Serbia was nearest to the maximum accomplishment of its ideas, and this is exactly what President Milosevic had felt," Handziski stated. "With the passing of time the Croats realized that Belgrade was slowly losing control over the Bosnian and Knin Serbs. This control may have looked normal when new leaderships appeared on a local level, but it could often get out of control and be overwhelmed by war euphoria. Parallel to all this, Croatia was preparing itself for two possibilities. After the Bosnian and Knin Serbs refused to accept the proposal of the Contact Group, intensive preparations started, and there are reports that Croatia had been preparing itself for these activities for almost a whole year with the assistance of a number of Western countries. It made great changes in the organization of its army and in military strategy. Croatia tested its abilities with the action known as 'Lightning' in western Slavonia and for the first time it was demonstrated that the Serbian forces were not invincible. The changes in the Croatian Army were for the fighting of a modern war such as the 'blitzkriegs' of Hitler's Germany, and it was also very similar to the war waged by Israel in the Middle East."

Accomplishment of the Karadjordjevo Agreement

"Nevertheless, if the Croatian military action was to start on this basis in Knin Krajina, that is, if the two military forces were to clash, it was clear that the Croatian Army would win," Handziski believes. "However, the victory was not expected to be the way it was, because the whole operation ended in 84 to 90 hours." The defense minister of the Republic of Macedonia pointed out that the Serbian side possessed a large military arsenal and potential, but in spite of the changed way of waging war and its military superiority, the Serbian side did not fight back as expected. "The tactic of taking over territories—fast penetration into the territory by avoiding key towns and leaving a free way out for the evacuation of civilians and soldiers—point to the fact that a part of the former Milosevic-Tudjman agreement

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

in Karadjordjevo began to be realized. On the other hand," Handziski said, "taking into account the fact that some Western countries had known about the action, and that the Croats had received silent approval for the operation, it is clear that it was not only a matter of an internal agreement between Milosevic and Tudjman, but also between the superpowers, including the Russian Federation. The Serbian forces," as Handziski stressed, "retreated without any casualties, they withdrew their armaments and concentrated around Banja Luka, which points to the changes that had previously taken place in Knin Krajina, as well as to the changes that are still going on in Bosnia-Herzegovina."

Minister Handziski considers that the development of the situation in the whole region now depends on several elements: first, on what is happening in Bosnia-Herzegovina; second, on what is happening in eastern Slavonia; third, on what will happen in the south of the Balkans; and fourth, on what will happen in Serbia itself. As for the future developments in Bosnia-Herzegovina it is very important to see which grouping will win in the Serbian leadership in Pale, according to Handziski. In his opinion, Milosevic was probably aware that by refusing the Contact Group proposal, Serbia is lessening the possibilities for achieving more than was agreed and discussed in Karadjordjevo. "There is a strong euphoria among the Bosnian Serbs that is not based on real foundations, first of all, because the larger part of their forces is engaged in protecting the long boundary lines with the Bosnian Muslims and the Bosnian Croats, and because the sanctions and the long-lasting war have exhausted the Serbian side, which is not the case with Croatia," Handziski said. "All the actions in Bosnia-Herzegovina are supported by the FRY Army, which is an indirect participant in this war, and there was also cooperation between the two general headquarters. In this context, the relations of General Mladic with the Serbian leadership and President Milosevic were much closer than with Karadzic, who started the activities without Milosevic's approval. Actually, the solution in Pale will affect a lot of matters that are connected to the future military developments in Bosnia," the defense minister believes.

Will Karadzic Fall?

"If Karadzic's wing wins, we expect that in due time the whole Serbian Army west of the Drina, which is now in Bosnia-Herzegovina, will be reorganized, because he is ready to start an offensive," Handziski believes. "If Mladic's wing wins, then we can expect a different development of the events, because then we can expect local wars to be waged in Bosnia in a number of phases. First, after the lifting of the sanctions against the FRY, Bosnia will most likely be recognized within its present borders, after which it will soon be divided." According to what Handziski foresees, the actions in these territories that are conducted by Mladic, if his option wins, will be directed toward gaining better positions. The second point where military actions will be conducted, if the generals' wing of the Bosnian Serbs takes power, will be Sarajevo and here bitter battles are expected, regardless of whether it will completely belong to Bosnia or whether it will be divided into a Muslim and a Serbian part. The third point where a swift action can be expected, and which will most probably end soon, is the taking of the Gorazde enclave, because due to the latest situation there are no conditions for a further existence of protected zones in this state. After the fall of Srebrenica and Zepa, the expectations are that Gorazde and the whole eastern part of Bosnia will become purely Serbian. Military actions can also be expected in the region of Bihac, and the general assessment is that this enclave will not exist for long despite the presence of the Bosnian 5th Corps there. This territory can also become part of the Croat-Muslim federation as a compensation for eastern Slavonia.

The developments in the FRY are of great importance for us, and it is a fact that they will strongly influence the total situation in the south of the Balkans. First, if there is a direct conflict between Croatia and the FRY in eastern Slavonia, then it is totally clear that there will be a great escalation of the conflicts in which it will not be easy to foresee future developments. That is why there is considerable concern among the Western countries, particularly in reference to the great euphoria that has now overwhelmed the Croatian leadership, particularly President Tudjman, because of which military actions can start in eastern Slavonia, although it is more than certain that Serbia will not concede. "I suppose that there will be great pressure on Croatia to stop provocations in this area in order to avoid possible international confrontation," the Macedonian defense minister said. In his opinion, the latest events were caused by the negative changes in the FRY. "I think that there are large internal tensions which lead to the risk of internal destabilization in this state, which can also have negative effects on the total situation in the region. We hope that the latest activities of Presidents Yeltsin and Clinton will lead to a solution of the crisis in the north soon, and that an agreement between the superpowers and the direct participants of the three sides involved in the Bosnian conflict will be reached," Handziski said.

Changing the Present UNPREDEP Mandate

"Our particular concern is that the latest developments in Knin Krajina will lead to big disturbances in the

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

whole region of the Balkans, because a large number of the refugees from these regions go to Serbia," the minister said. "A large group of them is now heading for the south, and we know that another group has already arrived in the suburbs of Nis, while another large group is heading for Kosovo, and this is exactly the problem that is of our great concern. There are interethnic tensions in Kosovo anyway and this can only lead to escalation of the existing tensions," the minister said. "On the strategic plane, the changes in Knin Krajina have decreased the possibilities for Serbia to have an exit to the sea in this region." Handziski pointed out that this automatically increases Serbia's interest in the Thessaloniki port, which revitalizes the primary Serbian interest for the north-south communications. "We consider this of equal danger for our state, because in that case the strategic interest of the Republic of Macedonia will rise, and the Greek Government will finally realize that a strong and stable Macedonia is more convenient for it than a Great Serbia," Handziski pointed out.

"We are watching the situation in Knin Krajina constantly and on all levels. In this respect we are constantly exchanging information with the international factors, because the changes that occurred in the north indicate the fact that the mandate, the composition, and the number of the UNPREDEP [UN Preventive Deployment Force] in Macedonia will have to be reexamined, in order to enable preventive and timely actions that will obstruct destabilization in the south of the Balkans on any foundations, because the international community is aware that a possible destabilization of Macedonia will automatically lead to a tectonic disturbance in the whole region," the minister believes. "That is why we have intensive contacts and we make constant evaluation of the possibilities that can endanger peace and stability in our state. If we agree with the assessments that the events are heading in a negative direction, then activities will have to be undertaken to reexamine the mandate and the composition of the UNPREDEP in the Republic of Macedonia," Blagoj Handziski said in the end.

Gligorov Urges 'Preventive' UN Presence

AU1608081295 Vienna KURIER in German 16 Aug 95 p 5

[Report by Jana Patsch: "Blue Helmets Must Remain in Macedonia for Preventive Reasons"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Kiro Gligorov has been president of the Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] since 1991. Tito's former fellow fighter, who is very popular with the population, has so far managed to keep his country out of the Balkans inferno. KURIER interviewed the 78-year-old man in his summer residence on Lake Ohrid.

Regarding the war in the Balkans, Gligorov said: "On the one hand, the Croats have the right to defend their border. On the other, they are doing this by force. All talks have ended in a stalemate not least because the United Nations has not managed to come to a unified opinion. If the war spreads to Serbia, the fight for changes in the borders will never stop. Therefore, the Blue Helmets must remain in Macedonia for preventive reasons until the war is over."

In connection with the Greek embargo, he stated: "Time is working in our favor. The Greeks must admit that they have not achieved anything. On the contrary, they are harming their own businessmen. We do not make any territorial claims. We should come to an arrangement in the autumn."

Concerning the relationship with Serbia, the Macedonian president pointed out: "We are the only republic of the former Yugoslavia with whom the Serbs do not have a conflict. Nevertheless, we have not had any contacts since May 1994. Serbia is Greece's ally."

With regard to the economic problem, he said: "The closed borders cost us much. On the other hand, we are better off than Albania or Bulgaria. I am not afraid of social unrest."

Regarding the radicalization of the Albanian minority, Gligorov stated: "We are willing to observe all international minority rights. Even more, we are pursuing positive discrimination: Ethnic Albanian students need fewer points to get admitted to a university than Macedonian students. However, the Albanians' demands to be recognized as the second constituent nation or to have Albanian raised to the second national language, as well as to have an Albanian university established, are unconstitutional. This would mean establishing a ghetto."

Concerning the EU's policy, he pointed out: "Even though the EU keeps praising the stable policy in our country, it refuses to help us because of the Greek veto. EU solidarity should have its limits. It would be better to help us now so as not to have to mobilize troops and humanitarian aid later on. Europe has left us in the lurch. Austria, too, could be represented more strongly in Macedonia."

Spokesman To Request UN Force Move Hqs to Skopje

LD1508194995 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1916 GMT 15 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Skopje, 15 August (TANJUG)—The Government of The Former Yu-

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

goslav Republic of Macedonia [FYROM] is to request a change to the UNPREDEP [UN Preventive Deployment Force] mandate following the latest events in Croatia, government spokesman Djuner Ismail told journalists in Skopje today.

"Despite the fact that the UNPREDEP mission in Macedonia is successfully performing its tasks, we take the view that it must be located with its own headquarters in Skopje, because, for reasons which are well known, the Zagreb headquarters ceases to exist," Ismail specified.

Henryk Sokalski, head of the UNPREDEP mission, told state radio here that the UN Security Council will, nevertheless, have the last word on any change to the mandate of the "Blue Helmets."

Supreme Court Chairman Dimiskovski Interviewed

95P20942A Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 27 May 95 p 17

[Interview with Dimitrie Dimiskovski, chairman of the Supreme Court of Macedonia, by Spas Markovski; place and date not given: "Liberties Are Never Too Many for Anyone"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Dimitrie Dimiskovski is the new chairman of the Supreme Court of the Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM]. According to the Constitution and legal drafts, the Supreme Court is at the apex of the hierarchical pyramid of justice in the state, and generally speaking, of the legal system. Because of these reasons and the fact that this court was for a long time without a chairman, we would like to present the views of Dimiskovski about the composition of the judiciary and the state's perspectives on various issues. Therefore, our Saturday interview is concerned with these considerations.

[Markovski] It is known that you have already been on the Supreme Court. With your election as chairman, you are returning to it after a long period that you spent on the Constitutional Court. Have you noticed any differences between the earlier and the current Supreme Court?

[Dimiskovski] It was precisely the period from 1980-87, almost the entire span of my previous term, that I was a judge on the Supreme Court. I have returned to the court after a certain number of years of service as a judge on the Constitutional Court. At that time, great events occurred, among which most significantly was the adoption of the Constitution in 1991. With it, in the constitutional position of the judiciary and, within that sphere, the Supreme Court, there have been vital changes with respect to the preceding constitutional system. The Supreme Court has been inaugurated as the highest court of a sovereign, independent, and democratic state—the Republic of Macedonia—as an internationally recognized entity in which human rights and liberties and their protection are endorsed as one of the fundamental values of the constitutional system. It is a court whose function as the highest court is fulfilled within the framework of a self-governing and independent judicial branch of government, as one of the three equal branches of the state's authority.

The differences in the position, function, and responsibility of the Supreme Court are, for that reason, vast and conspicuous. Nevertheless, I consider that the amount of physical space, usual and technical equipment, other working conditions, and the status of the judges have not improved. This is, of course, not the fault of the people on the Supreme Court.

But the active role assumed by the Ministry of Justice and the government is infusing us with optimism for changing things in a positive direction with respect to resolving these matters.

[Markovski] Considering the fact that on 12 April 1995 the Assembly only elected 15 judges, will the Supreme Court exercise its functions, and how will it do so?

[Dimiskovski] You know that the Supreme Court, according to the regulation passed by the Assembly, was to have 19 judges, and with the latest amendment, the number of seats was increased by five, so that the court should now have 24 judges. But, as you have noticed, as of now only 15 have been elected. In connection with this, I want to mention that, immediately after the delivery of the formal declaration, a temporary order by the judges was adopted in their departments and councils. With this order, the requisite petition was made to continue the work of the Court with a new staff and without any kind of stoppage. I must stress that this assertion refers to the resolution of the councils. The councils in the criminal, civil, and administrative divisions have maintained their regular sessions and have adopted decisions. They also continued to administer justice, as can be illustrated by the fact that in April about 300 cases were adjudicated by these divisions. However, not one single important organ of the Supreme Court figured in that number of cases. According to the law in use, the common assembly has jurisdiction on these subjects, that is, it decides after receiving requests for protection of the law in various cases. All of the judges and the chairman [of the Supreme Court] make up the members of that legally established entity. This assembly can operate if at least two-thirds of its members are present, but

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

this quorum cannot be obtained with the newly elected judges.

The court promptly pointed out this problem and requested that the election of the remaining judges be expedited. But this was not the only reason for accelerating the election process. The delaying of the judges' election, the failure to fill vacated seats, the enormous surge in cases arising from discrepancies and obsolete procedural rules (currently, an appeal can be made even about a dispute with the monetary value of 80 denars), and a series of other reasons are involved. At the Supreme Court, at the end of April this year, about 4,200 cases were awaiting judgment. This is an enormous number. Every day, I receive dozens of appeals for more rapid resolution of cases, but I have no chance to honor these requests. I ask myself, where is the right of the citizens for his requests to be resolved in a reasonable period of time?

[Markovski] While we are still discussing the election of judges, I would like to ask you what is happening with the judges who were elected without restrictions placed on their terms of office. Should they also be reelected a second time?

[Dimiskovski] This question falls under Article 15 of the statutory law for the implementation of the Constitution. According to this law, the election of all judges in the courts should, in keeping with the provisions of the new constitution, be effected during the designated period for constituting the Republic's Judicial Council. All judges who were elected before the enactment of the Constitution would be liable for a new election regardless of whether they had had a restricted term or a standing mandate, according to this law. Does that respect the principle of the continuity of the state? The Constitution introduces a new constitutional order. Harmonization of the existing institutions with this order is essential. This concept is also germane to the laws implementing the Constitution. But another question can be posed. Namely, whether the principle of legal security, as one of the basic principles of legal order, does not necessitate protection of the status of the judges who were elected before the Constitution entered into force and who, in so far as they were not elected a second time, could be adversely affected in their work and material well-being?

[Markovski] You were a judge on the Constitutional Court. What are the common elements of the Constitutional Court and the Supreme Court, if any?

[Dimiskovski] The position of the Constitutional Court is established in the Constitution. It is defined as an organ of the Republic which safeguards constitutionality and legality. Its competence is also established by the Constitution. Thus, the Constitutional Court rules on whether laws are in agreement with the Constitution and whether there is congruence between other regulations and collective agreements and the Constitution and other laws. The Court is also tasked to defend and specify liberties and rights (liberties and rights that are related to the freedom of religion, conscience, thought, public expression of beliefs, political affiliation and action, and prohibition of discrimination against citizens). Of course, there are other duties precisely established by the Constitution which, at the moment, I do not think I need to enumerate.

The Supreme Court, similarly, has a constitutionally established position. It is the highest court in the country, and it ensures unity in the implementation of laws by the courts. Decisions of the Constitutional Court are binding on all; even the Supreme Court falls within these bounds. By the same token, the decisions of the Supreme Court are binding for everyone, including the Constitutional Court. Thus, in response to your question, these two institutions have been established with precisely defined positions and requirements and I do not see elements which would provide reasons for raising the question of their mutual relationship, that is, which has a stronger constitutional position. Since both the Constitutional Court and the Supreme Court protect the liberties and rights of citizens, it would be theoretically possible to find tangential points in the responsibilities of these two courts if their roles were precisely and exhaustively defined. But this is not a problem emanating from the Constitution.

[Markovski] How are things going in the relationship between the Supreme Court and the Republic's Judicial Council?

[Dimiskovski] The Constitution, in my opinion, does not leave room for a dilemma on that issue. The judicial power, according to the constitutional provision of Article 98, is solely exercised by the Courts as self-governing, independent bodies of the states. No other organization may, entirely or in part, assume that role. At the apex of the judicial pyramid, again according to an explicit constitutional provision (Article 101) is the Supreme Court, which I shall repeat once more, is defined as the highest court in the Republic.

Similarly, the Republic's Judicial Council is an organ established by the Constitution and has precisely defined constitutional responsibilities. These lie in the domain of nominating and electing judges, determining their accountability and discipline in cases of misconduct, appraising the expertise and reasoning of the judges in performing their duties, as well as nominating two

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

judges for the Constitutional Court. In this sphere, the Judicial Council is inviolable.

[Markovski] And now, to turn to some questions connected with the adoption of the law on the courts. First of all, how do you evaluate the latest version of the draft of this law?

[Dimiskovski] With respect to this matter, I want to emphasize that the Supreme Court actively participated in the discussion about this law, and after my election, I personally was invited to attend the session held by the [parliamentary] commission to work on the preparation of the law and at which the final (in May) version was made. The evaluation by the collegium of the Supreme Court, with which I also agree, is that the draft is a serious attempt to regulate roles and relationships within the judiciary in accordance with constitutional norms for a self-governing and independent judiciary, as well as in keeping with international practices and judicial standards, while, simultaneously reviewing other suggestions and proposals. The majority of these views were adopted and incorporated into the final version of the draft law.

[Markovski] According to the draft law, the courts will decide on cases of violations. What epitomizes violations? Are the Courts prepared to exercise this function as well?

[Dimiskovski] A violation, according to the definition in the Law on Violations, represents an infringement of public order established by law or by another regulation the transgression of which incurs sanctions (sentences, warnings of violations, reprimands, and prohibitive measures). From the historical point of view, special organs or courts on violations made decisions concerning these transgressions which were dealt with in the framework of administrative bodies, and later, courts on violations were formed which recently marked the tenth anniversary of their founding. However, the administrative bodies (customs, taxes, etc.) were also given the power to rule on violations.

The specification in the draft law on courts which allows the courts to decide about violations is based on Article 12, Paragraph 2, of the Constitution, according to which no one can have his freedom restricted except through a decision by a court, as well as Article 13, according to which, an individual accused of a punishable offense should be considered innocent until his guilt be established with a legally valid decision by a court. Since violations according to the definition are punishable offenses, it follows that responsibility for offenses and for sentences can only be exercised by a court.

[Markovski] Nevertheless, the draft law places some violations and so forth under the jurisdiction of the administrative organs (customs, currency, taxes). How do you explain that?

[Dimiskovski] Well, even I had reservations about such a legal decision because I thought at that time, and I continue to think, that if it is adopted as indisputable that a violation constitutes a punishable act and that sentencing can only be performed by a court, then I do not see a legal basis or legal justification to support having certain violations remain outside the jurisdiction of the courts.

[Markovski] Is such a decision not justified by the desire to retain the large amount of negotiable instruments amassed from monetary fines?

[Dimiskovski] That question should, I believe, be directed to the person who drafted the law. I received an explanation that the reason was that the enlarged number of such violations would suffocate the courts if they assumed jurisdiction. I do not accept this as a legally sustainable explication.

[Markovski] If the current decision remains in force, how would the judicial defense be observed for those who are sentenced in the contravening process by the administrative organs?

[Dimiskovski] The judicial defense of the legality of the individual acts by the state administration and by the institutions that exercise public authority is guaranteed by Article 50, Paragraph 2, of the Constitution. According to it, the acts of public organs which impose contravening sanctions must be subject to judicial defense, and this defense is secured through the Supreme Court which rules after requests are submitted to it for review of decisions that impose specific contravening sanctions.

[Markovski] An important element for an independent judiciary is the method used for financing it. Do the proposed legal decisions guarantee that? Are they in conformity with international standards?

[Dimiskovski] With respect to the financing of the judiciary, the draft law envisions two significant innovations, the first being the judiciary's budget within the framework of the Republic's budget, and the second, the establishment of sources of income for the judiciary's budget—from judicial fees, monetary fines imposed through court actions, from the sale of vouchers and so forth. In that connection again, the latest version of the draft law envisions that the Minister of Justice would implement and exercise control over the judiciary's budget in coordination with the chairman of the

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Supreme Court and the presiding officers of the appellate courts. From what I know of international experience in this matter, there are various models in the different legal systems of various countries. They are derived from their association with the judicial administration, but within these limits, there are also budgets of the individual courts, of specially designated organs, of executive-judicial bodies, but they remain separate from the competence of the executive.

I believe that the draft law has fostered a great expectation that the courts would be ensured secure and durable sources of income and that representatives of the courts would participate in the implementation and control over the expenditure of funds.

[Markovski] And now, for a sensitive question. Is there graft or corruption in the judiciary?

[Dimiskovski] In my opinion, a graft-ridden or corrupt judiciary is the worst thing that can occur in a country that is striving toward democracy and intends to become a law-governed state. With such a judiciary, the basis of a legal state is ruined. All principles and guarantees for the defense of constitutional liberties and rights of the citizens fall into the abyss, and the principle of balance and counterbalance among the separate branches of government is destroyed. This leads to insecurity, tyranny, and chaos.

Responding directly to your question, you would not allow me to deliver a substantial and conclusive judgment on that since I have discussed this same sensitive topic at the time when I exercised that function. But with the conscience I possess as a long-serving judge of the Supreme Court and as a judge of the Constitutional Court, I can express my conviction that graft and corruption do not appear as characteristics of our judiciary. Our judges have very difficult tasks, a great burden of responsibility, endure numerous restrictions, and receive little money. But they are people of exceptional honesty and high human and professional dignity and are dedicated to their work. Precisely for that reason, they are not prepared to have their values trampled underfoot. In these concrete circumstances, honesty, dignity, and discipline still exist; justice and the law are the only values on which they can pride themselves. It would be difficult for them to renounce these values. But people are people, so the possibility cannot be excluded that some of them will transgress against the law and betray themselves, and among those transgressors, there may also be judges.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Daewoo, GM Rivals for Automobile Plant

WS1608104895 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 14-15 Aug 95 pp 1, 8

[Article by Roman Stefanski: "FSO. A New Offer From the Koreans; Daewoo Is Persistent in Courting Its Chosen One"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Investments worth $1 billion, the production of a new car called Espero, and guarantees that the work force will not be reduced—such is the offer the Korean concern Daewoo has made the FSO automobile plant. There is only one condition: FSO should make a decision by the end of this week.*

The Koreans explain the haste by their interests and obligations at home.

If FSO signs an agreement with Daewoo on establishing a joint venture, the assembly of average-class Espero cars will be launched next year (20 thousand annually) in Zeran [Warsaw district where FSO is located]. The model is larger than the Daewoo Nexia, the first batch of which is to leave the automobile plant in Lublin. In two years, the company would commence the production of engines and transmissions and two new Daewoo models, which would mean a total output of 200,000 cars manufactured annually.

Other offers FSO has received from potential strategic investors include: General Motors [GM]—130,000 cars annually and investments worth 540 million German marks; Hyundai—220,000 cars annually and $500 million; and Rover—110,000 cars. Only Daewoo says it will not cut the labor force.

The Koreans are insisting that a contract on entering negotiations be signed this week. Daewoo President Kim Woo-Choong is to visit Poland in connection with this issue. If the two sides reach an agreement, 20,000 cars will leave FSO each year.

"Daewoo is considering establishing a new car plant in Korea producing 200,000 pickups. If FSO were to accept its offer, they would build that plant not in Korea but in Lublin, and manufacture automobiles in Warsaw," we learned from a high-ranking state official who asked to remain anonymous.

Korean Race Against the Clock

Daewoo must decide whether it will build the new plant in Korea or in Poland very quickly. It is therefore in a hurry and is demanding that the Polish side reach a decision on the offer by the end of this week.

That decision should be made by the minister of industry, who is formally the founder of FSO. We learned from the Industry Ministry that it did not receive any official offer from Daewoo representatives last week.

The Koreans are allegedly expecting that the Poles will break off negotiations with General Motors, which also wants to become FSO's strategic partner. Last May, General Motors submitted an offer the manufacturer did not find attractive. "The Polish negotiating group is currently expecting a new offer from the U.S. partner," we learned from one of the negotiators.

Polish Indecisiveness

The workers council at FSO is meanwhile considering recalling the managing director. Before any important decisions that will be decisive for FSO's future, the council would also like to introduce employee ownership. The decision on establishing it was reached last April jointly by the management and the trade unions. Introducing employee ownership, however, will take far longer than the Koreans can wait. Hence the fear that FSO, which has been negotiating with successive candidates for strategic investors—17 in all—for 13 years may waste a huge opportunity for foreign investment. Daewoo will not wait until the Zeran plant solves its internal conflicts.

FSO's unpreparedness for accepting yet another offer places its 20,000 employees at risk of losing jobs over the next few years. It may also deprive the automobile plant in Lublin and numerous suppliers within the automobile industry of accelerating development.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Court Considers UDMR Initiative Legal

AU1508155395 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1000 GMT 15 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] An informative bulletin released yesterday by the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [UDMR] announces that, after a 10-day delay attributed to the Romanian post, the UDMR came into the possession of a decision adopted by the plenary session of the Constitutional Court on 27 July 1995 on the UDMR-sponsored legislative initiative signed by 492,380 citizens from 11 counties regarding the draft law on education in the languages of national minorities.

The Constitutional Court noted that, of the almost one quarter of the signatures checked, only 9 percent contain irregularities, meaning that the remaining 91 percent is correct. Given the existence of lists with 492,380 supporters—even if one were to take into consideration certain irregularities—one cannot say that the minimum figure required for a legislative initiative, namely 250,000 signatures, has not been fulfilled. The documentation forwarded to the Court also proves that the condition regarding the territorial distribution of the signatures—namely, at least a quarter of the country's counties and at least 10,000 signatures from each county—was also fulfilled.

Noting the fulfillment of legal conditions and the fact that, in the absence of a specific law in this respect, one cannot fully and operatively check the authenticity of the signatures, the Constitutional Court decision calls on Parliament and government to work out and adopt a law on the legislative initiatives of citizens to ensure the effectiveness of this constitutional right and the necessary prerequisites for its implementation.

The UDMR bulletin, which will be sent to the chairmen of the two parliamentary chambers and the government, expresses the hope that, in the wake of this decision, the respective legislative initiative will be discussed by Parliament.

Commission Views 'Convulsions' in Army

AU1508190495 Bucharest AZI in Romanian 8 Aug 95 p 3

[Article by Cristian Anghelache: "A Long and Difficult Road"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Defense, Public Order, and National Security Commission of Romania's Senate concluded its second fact-finding and information tour of military units around the country by visiting units belonging to the Ministry of National Defense, the Ministry of Interior, and the secret intelligence services.

The commission members examined the way in which the content and dynamics of the reform of the army is being implemented in the military structures. According to the statements of Senator Radu Timofte (the Social Democracy Party of Romania—PDSR), the chairman of the commission, 23 meetings have been held to date in military garrisons from 21 counties, the last having taken place in the Suceava and Ialomita counties. In his opinion, "It seems that the restructuring of the army and the realignment of certain regular and large military units is causing convulsions in the social protection of military personnel and their families." In concrete terms, there are deficiencies in ensuring the housing of military personnel moving from one garrison to the other. Similarly, "the moral and physical wear and tear of the transport military technology is beyond the pale."

The members of the Defense Commission plan to brief the defense and interior ministers on the problems noted in the territory and "everything that is in the competence of the Country's Supreme Defense Council [CSAT] will be brought to its attention; in its turn, CSAT is obliged to present to the Defense Commission solutions about the problems notified." Senator Radu Timofte admitted that there are also certain problems pertaining to the legislative realm, since only three out of the six laws on the reform in the army are "operative," with the rest, although passed by the Senate, still "lying around" in the Chamber of Deputies. The three laws already promulgated are the Law on National Defense, the Law on Preparing the National Economy and Territory for Defense, and the Law on the Status of Military Personnel.

Those outstanding, which "seem to be having a negative impact in the territory," are the Law on Preparing the Population for Defense, the Law on Requisitioning, and the Law on Civilian Protection in Romania. At the same time, the Chamber of Deputies is still dragging its feet on such draft bills as the Law on Guarding Assets, the Law on Firearms and Ammunition, and the Law on Gendarmes.

The next tour of the Senate Defense Commission will begin on 21 August 1995 and will cover military units in Transylvania, Banat, and Oltenia.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Federal

New Foreign Minister Named; Jovanovic to UN

LD1508171595 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1629 GMT 15 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Belgrade, 15 Aug (TANJUG)—The federal government today appointed Milan Milutinovic new foreign affairs minister of the FRY, TANJUG has learned. Milutinovic has so far been FRY ambassador to Athens.

The government has put forward a proposal to FRY President Zoran Lilic to appoint Vladislav Jovanovic, hitherto Yugoslav foreign minister, as head of the Yugoslav mission to the United Nations.

A statement from the federal government session says that Milan Milutinovic was born in Belgrade in 1942. He graduated from the Law Faculty of Belgrade University. [passage omitted]

Milutinovic speaks English and French, the statement by the Federal Secretariat for Information says.

The statement also says that when proposing Jovanovic for the post of ambassador to the United Nations, the government bore in mind the great importance that diplomatic activity in the UN headquarters in New York has for the resolution of the Yugoslav crisis, as well as Jovanovic's proven ability and professionalism, which will be an asset in the discharge of the duties and tasks facing the FRY mission in New York.

Border on Croatia in Herzeg-Novi Area 'Secure'

LD1508203195 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1936 GMT 15 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Podgorica, 15 Aug (TANJUG)—the FRY's borders with Croatia in the Herzeg-Novi area are completely secure and stable, the Yugoslav Navy and the Montenegrin Internal Affairs Ministry announced this evening.

A statement issued by the republic's information secretariat says that on 15 August, Yugoslav Border Guards Day, Admiral Milan Zec, commander of the Yugoslav Navy; Filip Vujanovic, Montenegrin minister of internal affairs; and Stevan Mitrovic, chairman of the municipality of Herzeg-Novi, visited members of the border guard units who are guarding the state border with Croatia.

On this occasion, the statement stresses, they assured themselves of the complete security of the border. This conviction, the statement says, has been unanimously confirmed by the residents of villages in the border area, whose everyday activities are taking place normally.

"The unambiguous impression is that the situation in the border units is a guarantee for stability and security in this region," the statement stresses.

Envoy Asks UN To Inquire About Missing Serbs

LD1608085695 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0548 GMT 16 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] New York, 16 Aug (TANJUG)—Dragomir Djokic, ambassador of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to the United Nations, asked UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus Ghali on Tuesday to urgently find out the truth about the fate of 10,000 refugees from Krajina whose column was stopped by the Croatian authorities on the Lipovac section of the Zagreb-Belgrade highway.

In a letter sent to the secretary general under the instructions of the Yugoslav Government, Ambassador Djokic informs Butrus Butros Ghali that the above-mentioned column of refugees has disappeared and that nothing is known about it.

Djokic asked Butrus Ghali to intervene personally and urgently to determine the location and fate of the Serb refugees who left their homes after the Croatian aggression against Krajina.

Krajina Refugees Wait at FRY Border

LD1508164295 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1454 GMT 15 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 15 Aug (TANJUG)—At the border crossing of Batrovci [between Croatia and Serbia], 10,000 Serb refugees are still waiting for permission from the Croatian authorities to enter the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia while international humanitarian organizations are doing nothing to solve the problem, Slobodan Drobnjakovic, the vice chairman of the Belgrade municipal assembly warned today.

He told Belgrade-based correspondents who had visited the reception centers for Croatian Serb refugees from the Republic of Serb Krajina near Simanovac and Bubanj Potok, together with members of the Belgrade headquarters for the reception of the refugees, that the column of Serb refugees near Batrovaci had not received any food, water, or medicine and that they had not been aided in any way.

Drobnjakovic appealed to the International Red Cross, UNHCR, and other humanitarian organizations to bring their influence to bear on the Croatian authorities to permit the Krajina refugees to enter Yugoslavia.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

International Aid Inadequate

LD1508190695 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1851 GMT 15 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Aug 15 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Government said Tuesday that the aid provided by international humanitarian organizations was insufficient and inadequate for the scale of the catastrophe facing the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the displaced Serb people.

It is imperative at this moment to intensify diplomatic activity, especially with international organizations, in order to ensure greater humanitarian aid, the government believes, the Yugoslav information secretariat said. The government has taken appropriate measures for reaffirming the peaceful policy of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, condemning Croatia's aggression on Krajina and providing that necessary relief to refugees in Yugoslavia,

The measures taken so far by the authorities, humanitarian organizations and various companies have covered the basic existential needs of the displaced, it noted. Great help in providing accommodation and relief to refugees was given by Yugoslav citizens, who have shown great solidarity and humaneness, the secretariat's statement says.

The government has adopted a proposed platform for contacts to be undertaken by the Yugoslav delegation in Geneva with the representatives of international humanitarian organizations—the World Health Organzation, the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees, the International Committee of the Red Cross, the International Federation of the Red Cross and the Red Crescent and UNICEF.

The government condemned all attacks on personal safety and property of citizens and expressed determination, in accordance with the Constitution and the law, to undertake all necessary measures for the protection of the freedoms, rights and safety of all citizens of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the secretariat said.

Belgrade's Relations With Ankara Called Cold

LD1108191395 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1715 GMT 11 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Aug 11 (TANJUG)—Political relations between Yugoslavia and Turkey are 'frozen and cold' but communication channels remain open, which could be important in the future, Yugoslav charge d'affaires in Ankara Dr. Darko Tanaskovic said.

'The Yugoslav-Turkish relations were stable, open and on the upturn until the Yugoslav crisis entered the phase of international recognition of unilaterally seceded republics....they even looked friendly', he said in an interview for the 'Saturday issue of the Belgrade daily BORBA .

It all changed, however, with Turkey's decision to recognise all the new states that had seceded from the former Yugoslavia.

'The breakout of war in Bosnia-Herzegovina further complicated and, in time, even deteriorated relations, because Turkey immediately sided with the Bosnian Muslims', Tanaskovic said.

He said that it was hard for him to see that any action on Yugoslavia's part towards Turkey could be assessed as a factor of disturbance of the stability of former bilateral relations.

Frequent 'warnings' about the outbreak of a Balkan war which have become unavoidable in Turkey's daily rhetorics, are being used for different purposes, least of all to remove the hotbeds of such a war, Tanaskovic said.

Even Turkey's state leadership issues such warnings practically every day, he said, recalling that Turkey on Thursday signed an agreement on military cooperation with the Muslim government in Sarajevo.

'It would be interesting to analyse who is invoking the specter of a new Balkan war and for what reason ...I am convinced that such an examination would show that those who raise their voices the loudest about the war in the Balkans are the only ones who have the power, and possibly the interest, to provoke such a war,' he said.

Tanaskovic believed that a conflagration in the Balkans could now be kindled only by Croatian militarized chauvinism, stubborn greater Albanian separatism and, to a lesser degree and potentially, by pan Islamic radicalism.

'It is well known who has influence on the said factors of instability, trouble and destruction... It is certainly not the Balkan countries,' he said.

Background on Podgorica-Belgrade Police Transfers

95BA0316A Podgorica MONITOR in Serbo-Croatian 28 Jul 95 pp 13-14

[Article by Seki Radoncic: "Major Police Transfer: Written Off in Podgorica, First-String Players in Belgrade"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *After his resignation as head of the Montenegrin SDB [State Security Service], Bosko*

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Bojovic was appointed staff member to Jovica Stanisic, head of the Serbian SDB. Have there been Serbian "moles" working in the Montenegrin police?

Following the departure of the entire leadership of the Montenegrin police, a purge is now under way in the Montenegrin State Security Service as well. In parallel with that campaign, there is also a strange set of personnel changes going on between Podgorica and Belgrade. After the resignation of Bosko Bojovic, head of the Montenegrin SDB, two of his closest associates were also removed from their posts. It has been learned that newly appointed SDB chief Vukasin Maras, acting without much tact or compromise, has dismissed Radoje Radunovic, an adviser to the former SDB chief on issues relating to the Montenegrin coast (with his office in Kotor), as well as Boro Djedovic, who had been the SDB section chief for terrorism. Djedovic was summarily deprived of his official car and his recommended pension.

The fact that this is not simply a case of the selection of a new team of people by newly appointed SDB chief Vukasin Maras, but is instead something more profound and serious, is indicated by the following fact: Dragan Rajovic, Bosko Bojovic's driver, has been transferred to "the garage." In the future, he will drive a truck or, at best, a bus instead of the deputy police minister for the state security.

The refusal of the Montenegrin state leadership to find a new job for Bojovic, together with the early retirement of his deputies, has led to a scenario that can be seen only in well-directed detective movies: According to MONITOR's source, Bosko Bojovic, the former head of the Montenegrin SDB, was appointed, overnight, staff member to Jovica Stanisic, head of the Serbian SDB and the right hand to Slobodan Milosevic. Bojovic also gained the title of deputy director of the Security Institute in Belgrade.

Radoje Radunovic too, instead of going into retirement and having to shift for himself, immediately found a job in Serbia: He will be the head of the Danubian region of the MUP in Vojvodina. It is alleged in Podgorica that his connection for this transfer was a high-ranking official and one of the ideologists of the ruling SPS [Socialist Party of Serbia].

Boro Djedovic also found a new job within 48 hours. He will be a senior adviser for consular affairs at a Yugoslav embassy in one of the Scandinavian countries. At the moment, he is making preparations in Belgrade.

Of all the Podgorica-to-Belgrade police transfers, the most interesting one is clearly Bosko Bojovic's departure to work for Jovica Stanisic. How did this former top "security man" in Montenegro earn a job with the new boss after being rejected by the Montenegrin state leadership, and what could Bojovic's transfer to Stanisic's staff mean?

The fact that the Montenegrin state leadership did not want to find a new job for Bojovic, and the fact that immediately after that he was offered a livelihood by the Serbian SDB, is giving rise to the suspicion, among many people, that Bojovic was working for the Serbian SDB all along, i.e., that he was a "Serbian mole" installed in the most sensitive post in Montenegro. Bojovic's opponents in the police, of which there is no small number, will surely take advantage of this opportunity and declare him the first and most important Serbian spy in Montenegro.

Such charges are hard to prove, and much time will be needed before things are fully cleared up. Still, even now a logical question arises: Why does the Serbian MUP need Bojovic (if he has not already passed the test in Montenegro), and what jobs will he perform in Stanisic's cabinet?

Bojovic is well acquainted with Montenegro and the situation here, so it is not a stretch to conclude that he will be responsible for this region in Stanisic's cabinet. He is a veritable data base. For example, he certainly knows much about relations between Bulatovic and Djukanovic, relations between the two opposing interest groups in the ruling DPS [Democratic Party of Socialists]....

For the Serbian secret police, as an extension of the Serbian polity, information on the Montenegrin leadership's plans in the event that Belgrade decides to completely strip Montenegro of its statehood, for example, are clearly of inestimable value. Until several months ago, Bojovic enjoyed the full confidence of President Bulatovic and Prime Minister Djukanovic, so it is not a stretch to conclude that he knows the right answers to these and similar questions. And, in what is perhaps the most important thing for a high-ranking secret police official, Bojovic was clearly able to "get inside" the president's and the prime minister's way of thinking. Could he anticipate their moves? Information on the flow of money, petroleum, and cigarettes in our republic is also certainly of special importance to the Serbian intelligence service.

There are many other things in Montenegro that are of interest to the police, or political leadership of Serbia. Bojovic is a man who has an enormous amount of highly important information on people from all spheres of life in our republic. It would be enough to simply provide his new boss with a list of "freelance" collaborators with the Montenegrin SDB.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

It appears that the acceptance of Bojovic by the Serbian UDB [as published; State Security Administration] constitutes an open slap in the face of the Montenegrin leadership by their Serbian colleagues. Such a big transfer could hardly have happened without the knowledge and consent of Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic. Politicians clearly know that moving a "written-off" police official of that rank to the first string—even if in a different federal entity—is a political scandal. Is Bojovic's move an indicator that Milosevic, with police help, is weaving a spider web around Bulatovic and Djukanovic? Just as before, with the old Montenegrin leadership.

But these are only assumptions. It is a fact that Bojovic was officially recruited for the Serbian SDB and that he is now playing on the same team as such experts on "popular events" as Mihalj Kertes and Maksim Korac.

In the context of Montenegrin interests, it is perhaps interesting to recall some of Bojovic's moves while he was still head of the Montenegrin SDB. Back in April 1993, MONITOR wrote about how ethnic cleansing of the SDB was being performed under SDB direction, under the auspices of "labor differentiation" and "rejuvenating the service." At that time, we recall, numerous "security men" who declared themselves ethnically Montenegrin were sent on "annual leave," after which they were retired early. The few Muslims and Albanians were also removed from the service at the bidding of Bojovic and then-police minister Pejakovic. They were replaced by "morally-politically" suitable individuals, as well as refugees. Bojovic contributed significantly to the compromising of Montenegro during the arrest of SDA [Party of Democratic Action] leaders as well. After Belgrade's political assessment that the leading people in that party needed to be dealt with, Bojovic directed the campaign of arresting the SDA leadership in Montenegro. At that time, the arrested persons were subjected to torture similar to that from the time of the Spanish Inquisition, supplemented by electroshock treatments. It was precisely that torture, which was confirmed by numerous international observers, that completed the compromising of the Montenegrin authorities. Now the question arises of whether such illegal and uncivilized torture was carried out precisely in order to inflict political damage on the Montenegrin state leadership.

Bojovic's service also left its unmistakable mark during the inauguration of the spiritual head of the Orthodox Montenegrins—Antonije Abramovic. Many people still remember the shameful SDB statement issued on that occasion. It is also not difficult to guess how well-founded opposition charges are concerning the illegal wiretapping of opposition and other politicians carried out by the SDB, under Bojovic's director's baton.

Bojovic's was considered President Momir Bulatovic's man. Toward the end, things began going wrong for him. In March of this year, MONITOR reported that the Montenegrin president had formed a personal security staff, comprising 10 policemen. The president appointed his personal bodyguard, Zoran Ulama, head of that staff. MONITOR described that move by Bulatovic as a loss of confidence in the leading people at the Montenegrin MUP.

The Montenegrin state leadership then took advantage of the well-known "Spuz affair" to replace police minister Nikola Pejakovic. Bojovic then submitted his resignation. He knew that he too would be replaced. He was right. It turned out that Bulatovic and Djukanovic no longer counted on him.

And it turns out that Belgrade counts on Bojovic very much.

[Box, p 13]

Was the President Spied On?

Despite his persistent efforts, Bosko Bojovic did not succeed in getting rid of Zoran Ulama, President Momir Bulatovic's personal bodyguard. In the last half of 1992, Bojovic brought about a decision to suspend Ulama. The main objection to the president's bodyguard was that he was allegedly friendly with people from the Podgorica underground. That decision so enraged Ulama that he set out to settle scores with Bojovic physically.

President Bulatovic sent a letter to then-police minister Nikola Pejakovic with the request that his bodyguard keep his position. This was followed by a meeting between Bulatovic, Djukanovic, Pejakovic, and Bojovic. It was decided at that meeting that Ulama would continue to hold the post of presidential bodyguard.

Ulama kept his job, our source says, because the real reason for his suspension was explained to President Bulatovic: Bojovic had allegedly demanded of Ulama that he spy on President Bulatovic, or rather that he report to him on what Bulatovic did and said at home, in his car....

The truth about whether Bojovic actually pressured Ulama to spy on the president, or whether Ulama alleged that in order to save himself from dismissal, is known only to the two of them.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Jul Poll Shows Support for Milosevic

95BA0312D Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 20 Jul 95 p 8

[Article by the Croatian News and Information Agency: "Everyone but the Serbs To Blame for the War"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade—According to a survey done by the Belgrade Political Studies Institute, 74.75 percent of the respondents believe that the authorities in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the authorities in Croatia, and the world powers are to blame for the war. Only 8.69 percent of the respondents believe that the Serbs, who were seeking their right to self-determination, are to blame for the war.

The survey done on a random sample covered 2,000 young people (between the ages of 15 and 30) belonging to all social structures in 40 Serbian opstinas, not including Kosovo.

According to the data of the survey, which is being published by the media, 65.35 percent of the respondents believe that every nationality should have its own state in order to progress, while only 2.64 percent held that the state is unimportant.

The new states on the soil of the former SFRY [Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] would be recognized without any conditions by 6.4 percent, under condition of equality of the Serbs by 43.5 percent, while 24.59 percent believe that they cannot be states at all.

The surveyed representatives of the young generation want a president who is just, who would also be wise and intelligent, and a majority believes that Slobodan Milosevic meets those criteria.

In an election, 17.12 percent of the respondents would vote for the Socialist Party, 12.96 percent for the Radicals, 10.32 for the Serbian Renewal Movement, and no less than 37.3 percent would not vote at all.

Of all the nationalities to be chosen for friends, the young Serbian respondents most like the Greeks (56.6 percent), then the Russians (52.8 percent), and the Chinese (40.9 percent), while among nationalities of the former Yugoslavia first place is taken by the Macedonians (37.4 percent), then the Slovenes (26.32 percent), the Croats (22.26 percent), and finally the Muslims (21.95 percent).

Serbia

Draskovic, Milosevic Discuss Krajina Refugees

LD1508215495 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1440 GMT 15 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Belgrade, 15 Aug (TANJUG)—Vuk Draskovic, chairman of the opposition Serbian Renewal Movement [SPO], stated today that he was very much more concerned about the trials and tribulations of the refugees and the interests of the fatherland and the nation than about any elections.

Draskovic assessed at a news conference that the Serb people are in a state of shock because of "the disappearance of the Knin Krajina" in which Serbs have been living for almost six centuries. [passage omitted]

Replying to a journalist's question, Draskovic confirmed that he had had talks yesterday with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and that on this occasion the problems of the accommodation of refugees from the Republic of Serb Krajina were considered.

SRS Asks Army To Help Evacuate Serbs

LD1508170795 Belgrade BETA in Serbo-Croatian 1605 GMT 15 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, 15 Aug (SRNA-BETA)—The Serbian Radical Party [SRS] today requested that "the competent authorities, above all, the Yugoslav Army," take the most urgent measures to protect and evacuate 11,000 Serb refugees from Banija and Kordun [Croatia].

"The further Golgotha of 11,000 Serb displaced persons from Banija and Kordun who have been exposed to the most terrible torture and ill-treatment by the Croatian Army and civilians must be halted at all costs," a statement by SRS deputy chairman Tomislav Nikolic says.

In the SRS statement, Nikolic said "Serbia should not allow Serb refugees in Slavonski Brod and other Croatian towns to be accommodated in concentration camps, where they suffer the greatest possible humiliation and where, during the night, many of them disappear without trace."

If their release cannot be achieved by peaceful means, the SRS demands "of the Yugoslav Army that it use all available means to liberate our brothers from Ustasha camps by military means," Nikolic says in his statement.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

SPS Official on Failure To Help Krajina Serbs

AU1508125695 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 14 Aug 95 p 2

[Article by Z.R.: "Yugoslav Army Crossing Border Would Be Deemed Aggression"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Kragujevac—"It is very clear today that any instance of the Yugoslav Army crossing the border would be characterized as aggression by the international community. We were proclaimed aggressors in Bosnia where we do not have our troops, and had we crossed the border, a wide array of punitive measures, including bombing of towns, would be taken against us," Dr. Borisav Jovic, vice president of the Serbian Socialist Party [SPS], stated to Radio Kragujevac yesterday, explaining why the FRY did not assist the Serbs of the RSK [Republic of Serbian Krajina] militarily.

He added that the mother country helped the Serbs in Bosnia and Croatia militarily, politically, morally, and in any other way much more than any other country would the members of its nation.

Speaking about Yugoslavia's obligations toward the RSK assumed earlier, Dr. Jovic said that the Vance Plan was proposed at the time when SFRY still existed and when the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] had the authority over the territory of the entire former Yugoslavia. The JNA then, according to him, put its heavy arms on the Serbian territory in Croatia under the control of the UN peacekeepers, pledging that if the United Nations betrayed the plan, which the Krajina leadership feared, the JNA would defend the RSK. However, certain things have happened in the meantime and, as Jovic says, neither the SFRY nor the JNA exist any longer. However, there is the FRY and the Yugoslav Army. At the same time, the United Nations did not betray the Serbs in Croatia either because it was not they who called on Croatia to attack the RSK.

According to Dr. Borisav Jovic, the Serbian side in Krajina made a tragic mistake by not accepting the Z-4 Plan. This constituted a very erroneous assessment in light of the international balance of powers and the patience of the superpowers.

We remain steadfast on the position that the peace option is much better than war. Ultimately because, among other things, we, as well as the Serbs in Croatia and Bosnia, are economically exhausted. Also, the arms embargo does not apply for the Muslim and the Croatian side, but it does apply for us. For that reason, our country will do everything to revive the peace process. However, we cannot make the Serbs across the Drina accept this because they have authorities of their own, Dr. Jovic emphasizes.

Police Ban Entry of Krajina Vehicles

AU1508105495 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 12-13 Aug 95 p 4

[Report by I.K.: "Police Are Sending Us Toward Nis and Kosovo"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Belgrade—Police have blocked our way. We cannot turn either to the left or the right. We tried to turn off the highway because we have relatives in Obrenovac. Policemen are constantly directing us toward Nis and Kosovo. This was reported to us by Nikola Jasic, a refugee from Mostanica near Petrinja, who spent the previous night on the highway in the company of another 27 refugees.

A policeman on duty at the highway turnoff in the vicinity of Auto Komanda confirms that the refugees are not allowed to enter Belgrade. He said that refugees can only travel along the highway and that the above ban does not merely apply for tractors but for all vehicles from Krajina. When we asked whether Krajina refugees can leave the highway in the company of their Belgrade relatives, he said that the first refugee center is in Bubanj Potok where Belgrade residents can search for their Krajina relatives and take them along with them. [passage omitted]

Krajina Serbs Reportedly Housed in Sandzak

AU1508161395 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 15 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Settling Serb refugees from Knin Krajina into Bosniaks' houses is not only being carried out in the Banja Luka region, but also in Sandzak. Cars, buses, and trucks carrying Serb nationals from Croatia have been arriving in Priboj constantly. Municipal authorities have temporarily accommodated these people in Priboj Spa [Pribojska Banja] and at the same time intensified registering empty houses of Muslim Bosniaks, the Information Center of the Muslim National Council of Sandzak announces.

The Muslim Bosniaks of the Priboj Municipality are increasingly concerned over further developments caused by the latest wave of Serbs arriving and their accommodation in the houses of Bosniaks who had temporarily left Sandzak under pressures and terror during the first two years of aggression on the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Nobody knows whether houses in the villages of Priboj Municipality whose owners, Muslim Bosniaks, had been expelled, have already been given to the newly arrived Serbs.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

This latest action of Serb settlement is considerably undermining the already disturbed demographic structure of Sandzak and is being carried out to the detriment of the Muslim Bosniaks.

Nis Official: 840 Conscripts Return to Krajina

LD1508164095 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1457 GMT 15 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Nis, 15 Aug (SRNA)—So far, 840 military conscripts and members of the Krajina Ministry of Internal Affairs have returned to the Republic of Serb Krajina from Nis, Jovan Zlatic, the head of the Nis district and chairman of the Nis district headquarters for the accommodation of refugees from Krajina, said at a news conference today.

Zlatic said that so far 6,000 refugees have gone through the Nis reception center, of whom 3,551 have been accommodated in Nis. [passage omitted]

Krajina Refugees Decry Leaders' 'Betrayal'

AU1508211695 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 10 Aug 95 p 7

[Article by Dragan Banjac: "Nobody Has Addressed the People"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Refugees keep coming. The first tractors from Krajina are arriving here, near the Novi Beograd student dormitories, at the Zmaj factory. A young woman is sitting at the wheel of the first tractor in the line with some children and several old people in the trailer.

A new and bigger line is appearing behind the intersection where the road turns toward the airport. Leading the line is the police "Zastava 101" car. Pedja, our photographer, complains about not being able to cross the highway barrier, but later calms down with the words that "all this resembles an everyday picture at Knez Milos Street." An even larger group, mostly of people from Benkovac, is arriving at the ramp near Simanovci. The first impression is not suitable for newspapers. During this war, nothing like this could be seen even in Vukovar, Dubrovnik, Sarajevo, Pale....

We Would Like To Go Back

"I was at the front line near Skradin" is the beginning of the story—already heard these days—told by Jovan, a soldier from Knin, "when we learned that we should be leaving. We were simply told that we would be withdrawing to a 'reserve position,' and it was only at Padjen that we learned we are abandoning our homes and leaving for some destination in the white world. Our leadership betrayed us with the help of these people here...."

Where is your president?

"What president? Fuck such a president, that is an ordinary ass. Can you imagine, you journalists, that nobody has yet appeared before us, the people, to tell us what had been agreed about us. Something must have been agreed, it is impossible that nothing has been agreed. Why were we not told that we would be sold, betrayed, and displaced, so we would play the game differently...."

Would you like to go back?

"Of course we would, my God, who would not like to go home. We would have accepted citizenship, everything, if only we could go back. If only you knew what weapons we abandoned in Petrovac only to be kicked out like sheep."

Slobodan Featuring in Every Statement

Shouting fiercely at you at first, these sunburned toilers, who for the past four years fought for a state so facilely promised to them, later on become soft and cordial. "Surrender," "betrayal," and "(the greatest) shame for the Serbian people," are the words they most frequently pronounce, and every one of their sentences told with a lot of hand movements, mentions the Serbian president.

A woman with a four-year-old son says that they were poorly received by a policeman who told them they had come to Serbia to make trouble. And that they should be quiet. This has been hard on them, they say.

"We have not come here by our own will, but somebody has planned this and perhaps benefited from our troubles. We are ordinary people who cannot know that, but we see that we are partly to blame for being cheated. You know that adage about cheating me once is your shame, but cheat me twice and the shame is mine. Well, you from Serbia have been constantly deceiving us into making stupidities and then got your asses out. You want to settle us in Kosovo. We would rather go back to Croatia than into Kosovo villages, or, God forbid to Zepa and Srebrenica. We have heard all sorts of things along the way. Shame be on Slobodan Milosevic if he planned this through these scoundrels of ours. Shame on them."

Stand by Us

People from Benkovac are surprised that Serbian citizens do not want to offend the local Croats (citizens of Serbia and Yugoslavia) and a middle-aged woman has a proposal: "Let them all move to their own country that they love dearly and we shall stay here. If you think that they love you, that is only your way to conceal

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

your cowardice and apprehension behind the Constitution, civil rights.... And they have trampled on all that. We will give them our keys, we have left everything in our houses, so let them leave. One more thing: The war should be solved by those who had conjured it all up."

And who is that in your belief?

"Politicians," she said after a noticeable pause, and, I admit, I already started writing something else.

N.M., a retired policeman from Knin, reproaches (calmly and without any curses) Slobodan Milosevic for failing to defend them after he signed the Vance-Owen plan. "If Tudjman is defending Croats in Bosnia and creating Great Croatia, then Milosevic should defend us. How can he possibly forget how we supported him and stayed at his side when he needed it? And now we get a dagger in the back. Or else he should not have made us separate from them. This is the greatest shame for the Serbian people in history. I should only tell you that our line was raided by aircraft when we were around [Bosanski] Petrovac...."

Vaso Lalic from Cista Mala (50km from Knin) is of the opinion that the Krajina people should have known what was happening, what was looming over them, and where they were going. "We still do not know what happened to the 'pockets,' and the one and the other part of Slavonia. There are a lot of things that we do not know. It was not Tudjman who won, but we were betrayed by our politicians. Now that everything is over, we would like to know where the Krajina millionaires are, why they did not welcome the people. Where is former defense minister Rade Tanjga and many directors who plundered enough in time, and now have businesses and own comfortable and spacious apartments here in Belgrade. They are not traveling by bus; they arrived when times were safe and did not spend four years in trenches as I did. Has any nation in the world been evicted in five minutes as we were? Has it?"

To Go Back, Even on Foot

A large group from Benkovac will probably be sent to Novi Sad. Dane Lacmanovic would like to go back, if only that were possible, if there were peace and they were accepted back. He says that they were betrayed by the RSK Government. A young woman would also go back "even on foot, if possible," only not to roam about from one uncertainty to another. Still, she would not like to go to the Croats!

Most of them tell about upsetting traumas during the travel (some of them have been travelling for five to six days already). Somewhere between Srb and Martin Brod, a man killed his wife and two children. He could not, they say, endure without food and did not want to go further into uncertainty. He wanted to commit suicide, but was prevented. Many people died on the way. They find it difficult to forget people from Petrovac who were selling them bread for 10 (ten) dinars and closed down all shops lest somebody tried to buy something.

Rajko Gagic (33) from Islam Grcki says that they cannot live together with the people from Lika. "They are different, we dealt with agriculture, we would only like to have some wine," this man, a former sailor, says. As regards return, he says: "Why not? We are too weak to be able to protect ourselves. Why does your president not gather 200,000 fighters? The Serbian Republic will gather 100,000 more, and we will be 50,000 together with women, so we would defend Krajina. But he does not want to do so..."

What about Babic and Martic?

"Ordinary fools. In our country, the price for fuel was seven German marks, and we used to receive 30 dinars every three months. I had pneumonia five times in the past two years and nobody believed me. I see that their aim was to break us apart. To prevent us from reorganizing, they are scattering us throughout Vojvodina and various places in Serbia. There is something I would like to tell Milosevic.... I would send him a photograph of my 11-month-old child and write on it: Thank you for enabling me to live. Let him have his photograph with Tudjman taken and sent to all of us. This is a message for him by the descendants of Jankovic Stojan [folk poetry hero]."

Little Bojan Would Go to Australia

Desanka Dragas, who worked in the Jugoplastika factory making footwear for 29 years and six months, continued to do so during the war, too. Before that, the young and democratic country of Croatia placed her on forced leave and then she lost her job. The others were not much better. I left home with about 30 dinars that I earned by working on the land. Our army did not pay us anything for making footwear, and when I set off, I did not take with me as much as one spoon from my house. This is also a poor solution. Perhaps after all this, the best thing for us would be to send us back to Tudjman to suffocate. It seems that everything would be put in place then.

Danilo Mizdrak from Strmica has only his bicycle. That is all his property. Behind a tractor, we see a longish, blue boat, this time on two wheels. Dejan, our driver, laughs and asks: "Does Serbia have a sea?" We approach 12-year-old Bojan Sankovic and talk with him.

What soccer team do you support?

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

"None," he says after a long silence. His mother tells him to admit (it is [the Split team] of Hajduk), but he insists that he no longer does so.

Where are you going?

"I do not know!"

Where would you like to go?

"To Australia. I have two uncles and two aunts there," he replies without the usual child's smile.

Yesterday at midday, shortly after the news conference of the Serbian Refugee Commissariat, Krajina people were filling out forms of the nearby Canadian Embassy in the small garden of the Carmen cake shop. Our message only for little Bojan is that the Australian Embassy is in the city center, in Cika Ljubina Street.

Commentary Attacks Church's Call for Revolt

AU1508150195 Belgrade VECERNJE NOVOSTI in Serbo-Croatian 10 Aug 95 p 2

[Commentary by Mirko Stamenkovic: "Incense With the Smell of War"]

[FBIS Translated Text] An appeal by the Serbian Orthodox patriarch has been addressed to the Serbian people at a moment of humanitarian cataclysm and a serious threat of its biological annihilation. The tone and the words, the thoughts and the goals in this appeal are far from the expected warmth and softness of the Orthodox Christian sanctuary.

The Serbian people have always searched in it for comfort and the strength to persist and to resist temptation. The church has never taught the Serbian people to live according to the idea of "an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth." Did not the patriarch of the Serbian Orthodox Church in Jasenovac [concentration camp during World War II] astound the world and his own congregation with his message that they should "remember, but also forgive!"

So today it sounds dissonant to claim that it is "shameful to organize or take part in any sort of celebration at a time when hundreds of thousands of our brethren are dying," with an open call to overthrow the legal authorities in the FRY, Serbia, and Montenegro. It is hard to think that "the walking saint," which is the expression that people often use for Patriarch Pavle, is not wise enough to see the truth: Namely, that the response to such a call would mean total national, military, and political chaos in the motherland, whose brethren in Krajina are experiencing a serious massacre by the executors of the American and German "fascistoid economic powers."

Militant Surroundings

It is hard to kneel and kiss the patriarch's hand that signed such a vengeful and destructive appeal.

It is hard not to bow to all that this tiny old man of enormous energy did in the past to help overcome the fratricidal divisions within the Serbian people.

The only consolation is that in the church, just like the public, it is sometimes impossible to overcome one's militant surroundings. And to pray for people to be wiser and more dignified than those who would want to talk, think, and work in its name.

The "policy of the priests' habits," which has triumphed within the leadership of the Serb Republic [Serb-held entity in Bosnia-Herzegovina] and to some degree in the Republic of Serbian Krajina, is not the preference of the majority of Serbian people in the FRY.

The spiritual poverty of militant religious leaders—and this does not mean that anybody is accusing the entire Synod, or the Orthodox Church—should be replied to with mere facts.

Those people, bred on hatred, who hide behind the habits of the noble Serbian Orthodox priesthood, themselves know that Krajina fell shamefully, precisely because it was eaten away by petty politicking, ideological antagonisms, war profiteers, and traitors—all that has always been an integral part of nationalistic and chauvinistic ideologies. And a part of the priesthood is not without blame in this.

The Tragic End of Krajina

Namely: 33 extremely well armed brigades in the gorges of Lika, Banija, and Kordun could not resist for even four full days. Whereas, on that very terrain, in four years of war with Hitler's elite army, practically unarmed antifascist peasants, the Partisans, always held free territory and even permanent hospitals!

In western Slavonia and now in Krajina, it proved that there is no logistic support more efficient than the "smuggling channels at Sentilj [border crossing between Slovenia and Austria]," which in fact all the time supplied the Muslim [Bosnia-Herzegovina Army] 5th Corps. Precisely the corps that has now committed a massacre at Topusko.

Whose inability and lack of patriotism is it, if not Martic's and Babic's, who, as Tudjman was massing 100,000 troops, were playing a disgraceful game of political overthrows and the struggle for power. Does the Serbian Orthodox Church point the finger at them in its appeal or ask why they say that "in this tragic moment the authorities are hiding the real truth from

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

the people, stifling their moral and patriotic duties and responsibilities, not doing anything essentially important for the salvation of the people....?!" If it depended on rockets and warplanes, howitzers and tanks, flak jackets and ammunition, they had enough of all of that. But not firm discipline, military skill, or a patriotic responsibility to their own morals, God, and their families.

Before the war, some church officials and politicians dug out from somewhere the long-forgotten division between the Chetniks and the Partisans, and, actually, in this way only helped the Partisan and Ustasha Franjo Tudjman. Because the Jesuits know what they have to do for their church, people, and authorities' ambitions. All our Martics, Babics, Atanasijes, and Karadzics know is how to cross themselves before themselves and their own interests!

Spite Destroys Myths

Hopefully nobody seriously believes that a spiritual, moral, and political restoration, a sobering up and awakening of the people can only be effected on the battlefield? Only in a new headlong flight into death? With new cases of exile and genocide?

We are as big and strong as we are. The world accepts us as it wants to, not as we want it to. Does it mean anything to those members of the Synod, drunk with war, if we remind them that in every war this century, we have lost over a quarter of our male population in their full biological strength and have become less numerous than the English, whereas three or four centuries ago we were more numerous than they?

Not acknowledging facts means shortsightedness, not accepting the policy of the possible, but instead the policy of spite. We have to forget personal interests and power, even if it is the power of the church!

Every word of the church should be received with piety, but it should not be served masochistically. That is not characteristic of the Orthodox faith, inside which there never existed the mujahidin blindness or the Catholic inquisitiveness of spirit.

After all, in a modern society, the church does not belong in parliament or on the streets. It "rules souls," not thoughts or human rights. Our youth cannot allow anybody, not even the church, to drag them back to the middle ages of feudal ownership over body and thought. Therefore the revolt against any overt or hidden arbitrage of anybody within democratic institutions is understandable. It is the inalienable right of every person to decide himself whether or not to go to church, whether or not to believe, whether or not to vote, or whether to chose one or another ideology.

Call to Pogrom

Anticommunism, to which the call appeals, is nothing but a different form of the worst Stalinism. Because anticommunism also leads to the exile, killing, and overthrowing of the authorities, and the destruction of democratic institutions.

Offering its own evaluation of the regime and its abilities, the church has obviously unintentionally cleared the way for an open discussion of its own role and mission. Of its choice of only one option. Of its siding with the war option in the Serb Republic and the already lost part of the Republic of Serb Krajina.

If the church, if only the militant part of it, issues calls to war in Serbia, then it only remains to bow to the mission and the thoughts of the patriarch, but to say: Our youth has no reason to be killed for anybody's private or ideological hatred. Nor did this happen in that way in Kosovo or Kajmakcalan either [historical battles of the Serbs]. Serbian mothers have always known how to bring up their sons on the milk of the tradition of Cer and Kolubara [more historical battles of the Serbs], of the Albanian golgotha, and the modern liberation from the fascist hoards. The country is defended with courage, but also with brains.

Montenegro

Opposition Demand for Parliament Session Rejected

LD1508220695 Belgrade FONET in Serbo-Croatian 2036 GMT 15 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Podgorica, 15 Aug (SRNA-FONET)—The request by opposition party deputies in the Montenegrin Parliament to hold an emergency session of parliament on 16 August, at which consideration would be given to the situation in the wake of the Croatian Army offensive on Krajina, was rejected at today's meeting between Montenegrin Assembly Speaker Svetozar Marovic and the heads of deputies' clubs.

MONTENAFAX [pro-opposition Montenegrin news agency] reports that the ruling Democratic Party of Socialists [DPS] was against holding an emergency session, so it was left to Marovic to decide when, in the next fortnight, the session would be held.

The parliamentary opposition parties have reacted in a joint statement in which they assessed that the failure to accept the initiative was yet another expression "of the nonautonomous position of the DPS."

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Venice-Bar Maritime Line Proposed

95BA0312A Belgrade EKONOMSKA POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Jul 95 p 21

[Article by Antonije Srdanovic: "Venice-Bar: Enterprising Italians"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Two months ago in the Yugoslav Chamber of Commerce in Belgrade, the Center for Integrated Transport in Venice (CIA—Centro Intermodale Adriatico Venezia), a private intermodal port in the northern Adriatic, offered Yugoslav businessmen the idea of forming a joint venture and establishing a regular maritime line between Bar and Venice. The idea was gladly taken up, and the representatives of this Italian port expressed the desire to talk about realizing this idea with interested Montenegrin enterprises in the maritime shipping industry.

Through the chambers of commerce of Yugoslavia and Montenegro, representatives of the Center for Integrated Transport in Venice met last week (11 July 1995) in Podgorica with representatives of interested Montenegrin firms (the Port of Bar, Prekookeanska plovidba Bar, Jugooceanija Kotor, JPZ [Yugoslav Railroads] of Montenegro, Zetatrans, the Bijela Shipyard, Jugoinspekt, Bartranzit), the chambers of commerce, and the republic governments, and they talked in detail about the possibilities of joining a joint venture and opening a regular maritime line between Bar and Venice. More specific talks about realizing this idea continued afterward in the Port of Bar, where that same day they signed a letter of intent to open a commercial line between the Port of Bar and the Port of CIA S.p.a. of Venice. The protocol was signed on behalf of the Government of the Republic of Montenegro by Deputy Prime Minister Rade Perovic, on behalf of the Montenegrin Chamber of Commerce by Vice President Ivan Mitrovic, and on behalf of the Port of CIA in Venice by its president, Mr. Zanardo Damaso, and Mr. Renato Darsia.

The Montenegrin Agency for Restructuring the Economy and Foreign Investments and the Montenegrin Chamber of Commerce will study possible forms of the joint venture to be created between businessmen of Montenegro and the firm CIA S.p.a. of Venice and other businessmen to be named by the Italian firm.

The purpose of the joint venture would be to develop and manage the traffic of goods and passengers between the two geographic zones, mindful of the mutual obligations and economic interests, which are to be spelled out in a study on establishment of the joint firm. In addition to maintaining a regular maritime line between the two Adriatic ports, the joint venture would provide terminal warehouse storage, collection of cargo, and integrated transportation, and it would offer all the other services that accompany that activity.

Both governments, those of Italy and Montenegro, are interested in forming the joint venture and opening the maritime line between Venice and Bar, Mr. Zanardo Damaso said, emphasizing that the private seaport in Venice has all the necessary facilities (piers, railroad lines connecting the port, storage space, silo facilities, warehouse space, and so forth), thereby facilitating efficient maritime transportation between the two ports, which, in view of the extremely favorable position of Venice and its linkage to Europe, could not only increase mutual trade, but also integrated transportation and technical cooperation between the two countries and considerably beyond, with the countries of the European Union.

Montenegrin businessmen proposed to the Italian businessmen from Venice that they urge local authorities and the Italian Government to open the Bar-Venice line for the transport of humanitarian aid for the population of war-torn regions of the former Yugoslavia as well as for refugees in the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia]. Under the conditions of the sanctions, this would, at the same time, be a joint preparation for unhindered maritime transport between the two countries after the economic blockade against the FRY is lifted, in which both sides have an equal interest, convinced that this is in the interest of firmer business ties of both countries on an economic and market-oriented foundation.

Kosovo

Krajina Refugees Refuse To Go to Kosovo

LD1508173495 Belgrade BETA in Serbo-Croatian 1639 GMT 15 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 15 Aug (SRNA-BETA)—About 800 Krajina refugees who have refused to go to Kosovo, have been blocked for two days now at Kusadak railway station near Smederevska Palanka, Slobodan Blagojevic, reporting from there, told Belgrade-based B-92 radio.

According to Blagojevic, the refugees who have refused to go to Kosovo have been sent back to the railway station. Some of them have been moved into the village, but they, Blagojevic claims, are also on the streets.

Blagojevic said the refugees had received only water and that the citizens of Smederevska Palanka are not being allowed to "slip them food and water."

Blagojevic says the refugees are not being allowed to leave or to make telephone calls, although "they all

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

claim they have relatives in Serbia and that they want to contact them and go and stay with them." The refugees are not requesting any accommodation but are only demanding to be allowed to communicate and move about freely, he added.

According to him, the law and order authorities are not allowing the refugees to leave "because they want to keep them together" and send them to Kosovo. Blagojevic says he witnessed the capture of refugees who tried to escape on tractors.

Blagojevic said the refugees, who are completely "disorganized," were promised that they would be visited by representatives of the commission for refugees, but that no one had turned up.

Settlement in Majority-Albanian Areas Suspected

AU1608070395 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT in English 15 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] More and more Serb refugees from Croatia have been brought to Kosova. According to the Serbian mass media, as many as 2,000 Serb settlers have already been stationed in Kosova, while another 1,300 are expected to arrive today. One thing that analysts have been noticing so far is that Serb arrivals are settled in either purely Albanian-inhabited areas or in those where Albanians make the overwhelming majority of the population, which proves to the fact that, by exploiting the refugees issue, the Serbian regime is intent on accomplishing its goal for a colonization of Kosova and changing its ethnic composition. According to the Prishtina-based Serbian daily JEDINSTVO, a so-called "crisis team" in Skenderaj has done all the preparations to install 100 Serb families in this 100 percent Albanian-inhabited municipality. Most of them are expected to be accommodated in the buildings of the local secondary school, for as the regime says with an euphemism "there are no more students attending classes in it." Namely, for five years now Albania students in this town and throughout Kosova have been denied access to their own schools, while the buildings have remained empty. In Prizren some 450 Serb settlers have so far been stationed. A number of them was reported to have been accommodated at a purely Albanian village of Mushitisht. In Rahovec, Serb settlers have been accommodated in the local dormitory of secondary school students. Reports from Rahovec say that Serb settlers have also been accommodated in the premise of the only kindergarten in the town. The Serbian-installed authorities in Gjakova have decided that Serb settlers be accommodated in the secondary school students' hostels. In Shterpeca some 350 Serb settlers are expected to be accommodated at the children's holiday resources. Sources in Istog reported today that so far as many as 227 Serb settlers have already been provided with accommodation in the town and surrounding villages.

Court Proceedings Against Ethnic Albanians

Trial of Paramilitary Formation

LD1608134995 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1312 GMT 16 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Gnjilane, 16 Aug (TANJUG)—The trial of nine members of paramilitary formations began in the district court in Gnjilane today.

This is a group of nine Albanians—members of an illegal association of reserve army officers within the so-called executive council of the illegal assembly of the municipality of Gnjilane. [passage omitted]

They have been charged with engaging in forceful and illegal activities aimed at seceding a part of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia populated by Albanians and annexing it to the People's Republic of Albania.

'Staged Trial' in Prizren

AU1608074195 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT in English 15 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Serbian-staged trial against 44 former employees of the Kosova police force and former municipal authorities of Prizren and Suhareka, including the chairman of the Prizren-based Turkish Popular Party, was due to resume yesterday at the Serb-run District Court in Prizren. The Prishtina-based BUJKU reported today that the trial was adjourned again yesterday. On 11 August all the defending lawyers and the audience (defendants' relatives) walked out of the courtroom, protesting over numerous irregularities and infringement of provisions of the Yugoslav/Serbian Code on Criminal Proceedings. One of the key disputes that made the lawyers walk out of the courtroom was the fact that they (lawyers) had never seen nor perused the original copies of the indictment and the documentation of the act the court has been exploiting against the defendants. The trial is due to resume on 21 August. The defending lawyers were told by the court authorities that they could peruse some of the documentation in the meantime. The defending lawyers reiterated again yesterday their request that some of the defendants be sent to a medical examination and/or treatment for most of them will not be able to participate the proceedings. Most of the defendants, according to the defence, are in a very bad health condition due to torture incurred on them by the Serbian state security and police officers during the investigative proceedings and while in

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

pre-trial detention. Some of the defendants have been suffering heart and kidneys troubles, others have been suffering eyesight and hearing damages, while Mr. Sezair Shaipi is said to having serious pains in his spine. Shaip Mustafa, another accused, has recently spent a week in the hospital. He told the Court that he was advised by the doctor to rest and be placed under rigorous nourishment control. Mr. Mustafa has been suffering haemorrhagia in his stomach, caused by the torture while in detention, based on a medical report. The lawyers also required explanation on the fate of their client Ramadan Ndrecaj. He is suspected to have been transferred to Prishtina without lawyers' knowledge or explanation. Ndrecaj seems to have been caused great brain damage. They required medical examination for him as well as a full medical report. Participating in yesterday's trial session were also Beng Bondeson, a judge from Stockholm and member of the Geneva-based International Commission of Judges, and Vladan Vasilievic, professor at the Institute for Criminology and Sociology in Belgrade, says BUJKU. The trial against 44 Albanians in Prizren was adjourned several times so far. Initially the defending lawyers had requested the disclaimer of the chairman of the court division, Vitomir Krstic, from Leskovac (Serbia) and other judges, all of them from Serbian towns. The request of the defence was overruled. Later on, the defence has been contended over deliberate infringements carried out by Serb judges.

Trial in Prishtina Scheduled

AU1608072595 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT in English 15 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] A staged trial against 13 Kosova Albanians, former municipal authorities in Kaanik and LDK [Democratic League of Kosova] activists, will open at the Serb-run District Court in Prishtina, the Prishtina-based BUJKU reported today. Hebib Shehu, chairman of the LDK branch in Kaanik; Osman Krasniqi, former mayor of Kaanik; Qamil Ilazi, Mitalip Hejerzci and Ilaz Loku, former police employees; Maksut Hoxha, formerly a local governor; Ibush Vishi, vice chairman of the LDK branch in Kaanik; Xhevat Bala, former of officer with Municipal Defence Department; Raif Dema; Naser Kuka, chairman of the Kaanik based Council for the defense of Human Rights; Idriz Krasniqi, electrician; Xhemjal Hetallari, mechanic, and Sami Vishi, student at the Faculty of Agriculture in Prishtina. They are indicted for "association for hostile activity" attempting "jeopardizing of the territorial integrity" of the so-called Yugoslavia, pursuant to Articles 136 and 116 of the Penal Code of the rump Yugoslavia (Serbia & Montenegro).

Vojvodina

Red Cross on Settlement of 64,000 Refugees

LD1608135295 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1100 GMT 16 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] According to official Serbian figures, so far, only 1,200 Krajina Serbs have been settled in Kosovo, which is mainly populated by Albanians. The number of refugees in Vojvodina, however, is alarmingly high.

According to data provided by the Vojvodina Red Cross, by last night, more than 64,000 refugees have been accommodated by the Serbian authorities in the province.

Hungarians Fear Refugees Changing Ethnic Balance

LD1508133295 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1300 GMT 15 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Hungarians of Vajdasag [Vojvodina] are concerned that the new wave of refugees will change the province's ethnic make-up. Therefore, the minority Hungarian politicians have turned to the speaker of the Serbian parliament. They say that Vojvodina is undertaking a disproportionately great role in housing Serbian refugees. The Vojvodina Hungarians are demanding that the authorities protect the original inhabitants from violence and that they only settle as many refugees as the province's size and capacity make possible.

Populated Towns Unwilling To Take Serb Refugees

LD1608120595 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1109 GMT 16 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Novi Sad, 16 Aug (SRNA)—The Subotica town authorities have urged the Serbian Government to stop sending Serbs expelled from the Republic of Serb Krajina to the town as of today.

Refugees are being accepted in Senta only if a resident of the town provides guarantees to take permanent care of them. Krajina Serbs, however, cannot be granted refugee status in the town.

Employees of the municipal Red Cross organizations are on annual leave and they have instructed all organizations that can provide accommodation to the refugees not to do so.

Slovaks 'Victims of Ethnic Cleansing'

LD1508124195 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1000 GMT 15 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Slovak ethnic minority in Vojvodina, in the north of the Federal Republic of

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Yugoslavia, has been hit by the wave of extensive ethnic cleansing in which rebel Serbs have started to deport the Croatian population from the territory of northern Bosnia and Yugoslavia. In a statement issued by the district civil defense command in the northern Croatian town of Osijek, ethnic Slovaks—together with ethnic Hungarians, Ruthenians, and Ukrainians—have described themselves as yet further victims of ethnic cleansing.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

BULK RATE
U.S. POSTAGE
PAID
PERMIT NO. 352
MERRIFIELD, VA.

This is a U.S. Government publication produced by the Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS). Its contents in no way represent the policies, views, or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

FBIS collects, translates, disseminates, and analyzes foreign open-source information on behalf of the U.S. Government. Its publications may contain copyrighted material. ***Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.***

— Bracketed indicators before the first sentence of each item describe the way in which the material was processed by FBIS.

— Headlines and all bracketed explanatory notes are supplied by FBIS.

— Personal and place names are rendered in accordance with the decisions of the U.S. Board on Geographic Names as adapted by FBIS. Unverified names in radio and television material appear in parentheses and are spelled phonetically; words and phrases in parentheses preceded by a question mark are unclear in the original and deduced from context.

SUBSCRIPTION INFORMATION

U.S. Government Customers

For a list of FBIS products, to subscribe to an FBIS publication, or to indicate a change of address contact:

FBIS
P.O. Box 2604
Washington, DC 20013-2604
Telephone: (202) 338-6735
FAX: (703) 733-6042

Non-Government Customers

Subscriptions are available from the National Technical Information Service:

NTIS
5285 Port Royal Road
Springfield, VA 22161
Telephone: (703) 487-4630
FAX: (703) 321-8547

New subscribers should expect a 30-day delay in receipt of the first issue.